



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

VIII. *Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peshwa, MADHU RAO, from the Year 1761 to 1772. Translated from the Original Mahratta Letters, by Lieut.-Colonel JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 3, 1828.

ON the last occasion on which we met, I was permitted by your indulgence to read a piece of autobiography of NANA FARNEVÍS, one of the most eminent persons who have become familiarly known to us since our first connexion with India. I stated that a vast number of the private and confidential papers of that extraordinary personage had fallen into my hands previously to my quitting India; and that a small, but interesting portion of them, had been translated by me and brought to this country. These translations have been submitted to two or three of the most distinguished members of our Society; and they have been pleased to express a wish that some of them might be brought to the notice of the Society, and explained by a narrative of the circumstances that led to their being written. The letters commence with the public life of NANA FARNEVÍS in 1761, and end with the fall of his power as minister to the Peshwa in 1796. They form valuable materials to elucidate his conduct during his long and arduous official career; but they are the more remarkable for the insight they afford us into the secret springs which seem to have regulated the behaviour of his illustrious master and sovereign MADHU RAO the Great, who, as I have before mentioned,* ascended the throne in his sixteenth, and died in his twenty-eighth year. The period of his reign was that which formed the character of NANA FARNEVÍS, and the intercourse of these young persons is developed in a very interesting manner in the letters alluded to. The correspondence belongs as much to the biography of NANA as to that of MADHU RAO; and as I have it in contemplation at some future period, if my time permits, to write the life of NANA, I am perhaps detracting from the value of that work by the present essay. My desire to contribute to the interest of our meetings, and to the utility of our Society, has however induced me to comply with the wishes

of those members who have suggested this mode of introducing the curious correspondence of which I am in possession to this institution, and to the literary world.

I assume, that most of the members present have read the very excellent history of the Mahrattas, which has recently been published by Captain Grant Duff, late Resident at the court of Satára ; and I shall therefore not enlarge on the nature of the relations which subsisted between the Peshwa and the Raja of all the Mahrattas ; but shall give a very succinct account of the political situation of those states when MADHU RAO the Great ascended the throne of the Peshwas.

The Muhammedan hosts, settled in Transoxiana and Persia, first approached the Niláb (the upper part of the Indus) in the tenth century. They gradually spread themselves over Northern India, and established in Dehli a kingdom independent of the monarchy which had sent forth their lieutenants to conquest. Three centuries elapsed ere the Muhammedan arms penetrated to the south of the Nerbada ; after which the lieutenants of the Dehli empire, in common with those of other parts, became independent ; and at the period of the invasion of India in 1526 by Báber (the first of the race we designate by the title of the Great Mogul), all India north of the Crishna river had been for the most part subjugated by the Moslem troops, and no fewer than thirteen independent Muhammedan sovereigns reigned over a population of fifty millions of Hindus. Time had been allowed for these dynasties to sink into the luxury and imbecility which usually belong to despotism in the third or fourth generation ; and the energy of the Mogul emperors, each of whom felt himself bound to accomplish the subjugation of all the Muhammedan princes whose ancestors had once been the lieutenants of the state, enabled them gradually to subvert their power, and to re-unite the dismembered provinces of the empire in the time of AURUNGZEB, the last efficient monarch of the Mogul race.

Availing himself of the circumstances of the times, SHAHJÍ, a Hindu officer of the Muhammedan kingdom of *Bijapore*, set the example of making conquests in the name of his master, but virtually retaining the power he obtained over the subjugated country in his own hands. The same line of conduct was more effectually adopted by his enterprising son, SRVAJÍ, who established an independent sovereignty in *Maharáshttra*, the country which we now call the Deccan. SHAO, the grandson of SIVAJÍ, giving way to the voluptuous habits which he had acquired in the court of Au-

RUNGZEB (where he had remained for many years a state prisoner,) permitted his prime minister, denominated *Peshwa*, to become virtually the executive ruler of the state; and this officer held his vice-regal court at Poona. BALAJÍ the first, and BAJÍ RAO his son, the second Peshwa, had successively filled these offices, when BALAJÍ the second, the father of MADHU RAO the Great, succeeded to the dignity of his ancestors in the year 1740.

By this time the Mahratta ascendancy was so great in India, that while one of its armies had repelled a partial invasion of the Afghans near the Indus, a second levied tribute in Behar, and a third having besieged and taken possession of Trichinopoly,* carried its Muhammedan prince, CHUNDA SAHIB, a prisoner to Satára, where he remained in confinement for more than seven years. A sum of twenty thousand rupees, being a share of the tribute derivable from the territory of Arcot, was assigned to the Peshwa BALAJÍ the second; heavy contributions had been imposed on the ruler of the Mysore at the very gates of his capital; while the whole of the country below the western mountains, conquered from the Portuguese at this period, was made over by the Raja of Satára to his minister: and the occupation of Malwa was at the same time granted to BALAJÍ by the feeble emperor of Dehli, in order to induce the Mahrattas to furnish a body of four thousand horse to protect his throne.

The following substance of this grant, to be found in Captain Grant Duff's Mahratta history, affords a fair specimen of the duties imposed on the Peshwa:

“ The dignity of the Shahzada's (prince's) deputy in Malwa, together
“ with the income attached to that situation, having been conferred on you,
“ proper arrangements must be made in that province, so as to afford the
“ subjects paying revenue to government due favour and protection, and
“ to punish all such as are evil-disposed and disaffected. You must pre-
“ vent the use of intoxicating drugs and spirituous liquors, and must
“ administer justice equally, so that the strong shall not oppress the weak,
“ and that no species of violence be tolerated.”

The Raja SHAO of Satára had for many years been in a state of mental imbecility; this aberration of mind was produced, it was supposed, by the death of a favourite wife. During his lucid intervals he was advised to adopt a son, his own having died some time before the wife

* 26th March 1741.

alluded to. To this measure he at length acceded. A member of the family, not hitherto known to exist, was suddenly produced from obscurity ; and on the death of Raja SHAO (which happened shortly after) the prince was raised to the throne, and his palace became his prison to the day of his decease. The Peshwa BALAJÍ was not the person who confined the prince in the first instance, but it was his aunt TARA BHYE, an ambitious and clever woman, who hoped by this measure to assume the reins of government, and to subvert the power acquired by the Peshwa. She was, however, caught in her own toils. BALAJÍ resisted her authority in the name of the prince whom he affected to regard as his sovereign, but whose release out of the hands of his aunt he never attempted to effect. From that period till the subversion of the government of the Peshwas, ten years since, the existence of the Rajas of Satára has hardly been known, and their power has been virtually extinct.

The duty of occupying Malwa, and enforcing obedience to the royal grant, was consigned to two chiefs, HOLKAR and SINDIA ; and their descendants still hold that extensive territory, the revenues of which were then estimated at one hundred and fifty lacs of rupees, equal to about a million and a-half sterling.

One other point of the political relations of the Mahrattas with the Muhammedans seems necessary to explain the narrative which is about to follow. This is, the existence of a very formidable power of the latter nation in the Deccan. This state was the vice-regal government of Hyderabad, held for several years by the descendants of *Nizám-ul-Múlk*, called by us the Nizam. The Mahratta armies, in the course of their operations, either overran the districts of this neighbour, or by forbearance obtained security for their own country during the absence of their soldiers in other quarters ; and something like a balance of power seems to have been mutually recognized as politic by the parties, which however did not preclude them from occasional contests on questions of local importance.

Dissensions either at the court of Poona or Hyderabad usually led to these wars ; and an opportunity to support the claims of some exiled relative ever afforded a plea for interference which brought with it the ultimate prospect of aggrandizement. It is not necessary to go into the details of these wars : for the present suffice it to say, that the Peshwa's brother RAGHUNÁTH RAO, had been much employed in active military operations,

and had greatly distinguished himself, while his cousin, SADÁS'IVA PANT BHAO, was not his inferior in martial reputation.

Nor was the Peshwa himself inactive: in his contests with the Nizam, BALAJÍ had compelled him to cede territory yielding twenty-five lacs of rupees; and in a campaign into Mysore, he reduced that government to the necessity of paying a sum of thirty-two lacs of rupees.

In the year 1759, RAGHUNÁT'H RAO, the Peshwa's brother, returned to Poona from a successful campaign in Hindustan; but instead of bringing wealth to the coffers of the State, he lavished all the booty acquired, and had demands for the payment of his troops upon the public treasury. SADÁS'IVA RAO, the Peshwa's cousin, who at this time conducted the civil administration of the government, reproached RAGHUNÁT'H RAO with his profusion: the latter became incensed, and told SADÁS'IVA RAO that on the next expedition he had better assume the military command. The cousins accordingly changed places; and SADÁS'IVA RAO shortly after evinced additional martial talents in a campaign against the Nizam, in which he compelled him to cede in perpetuity territory yielding more than £680,000 of annual revenue.

At this time the crisis arrived when it was prudent to put forth the whole strength of the Mahratta power in opposing the encroachments of the Afghans upon the territory of Dehli. Accordingly the Peshwa, BALAJÍ RAO, having left his brother RAGHUNÁT'H RAO as regent at Poona, marched to the north accompanied by his cousin SADÁS'IVA RAO, and his eldest son WISWÁS RAO, the heir to his throne. The main body of the army, under the latter prince, moved on to Dehli, while the Peshwa had scarcely reached the Nerbada, when he heard of the fatal defeat of his army at Paniput, and the loss of his favourite son and of his cousin SADÁS'IVA RAO. This event made so deep an impression on his mind, that the Peshwa's intellects became impaired; and he died in a state of mental derangement at Poona a few months afterwards, leaving two sons, MADHU RAO, aged sixteen, and NÁRÁYAN RAO, aged nine years. The former was raised to his father's dignity; but his uncle RAGHUNÁT'H RAO (who is known to Europeans by the name of RAGOBA), retained in his hands the supremacy of the government, and denied to his nephew any share in the administration.

The loss of the battle of Paniput and its consequences, afforded to the Muhammedan government of Hydrabad a favourable opportunity to recover the territory ceded to the Mahrattas; and the Nizam did not allow it to escape. War was declared for this purpose, and the Regent RAGOBA was

compelled to cede territory yielding £27,000 of revenue to the enemy, to prevent the destruction of Poona, in the vicinity of which the Muhammedan army had arrived.*

Shortly after this peace, the young Peshwa accompanied his maternal uncle TRYAMBAC RAO with an army to the south, to levy tribute in Mysore; and the following letter to his friend NANA FARNEVÍS, who had remained in Poona, gives us some idea of his character :

“ 1st June 1762.

“ The news here are, that we have succeeded in all our affairs, with the
 “ exception of that of Sera. There has been too little time to effect much ;
 “ for the rains having set in, the Tumbhadra swelled, and we were pre-
 “ vented doing any thing against Seringapatam this campaign : but we
 “ have accomplished all our wishes on this side of that river. The Crishna
 “ has detained us here for two or three days ; but the head-quarters have
 “ crossed, and the bazar (including camp-suttlers and followers) is gradually
 “ crossing also. I fear we shall however be detained for two days more :
 “ yet I am sanguine that we shall reach Poona by the 12th of June.”

During the young prince's campaign with his maternal uncle, he resolved to adopt a new line of conduct. His mother, GORÍKA BHYE, an able and ambitious woman, had long cherished enmity against her late husband's brother RAGOBA, but more especially against his wife ANANDÍ BHYE, who was more artful, and fully as ambitious as herself. The feeling of hostility which prevailed in the breast of the mother of the young Peshwa was carefully transfused by her into his own ; and the late confidential intercourse which had subsisted between him and his mother's brother TRYAMBAC RAO, decided him in declaring, on his return to Poona, his determination to have a share at least in the management of his own affairs. His uncle RAGOBA, and SÁKARÁM BAPPU, the most efficient of the ministers, offended at his presumption, and conceiving that the public affairs could not be conducted without them, resigned their offices. MADHU RAO, however, with the utmost promptitude, formed a new administration, at the head of which was his mother's brother TRYAMBAC RAO, while among his personal and confidential secretaries was his friend NANA FARNEVÍS. RAGOBA retired to Nasuk, and in a short time appeared at the head of an army of Mahrattas, assisted by the Nizam with a considerable body of his troops ; in return for

* December 1761.

which assistance, the remainder of the cessions made by the Hyderabad state to the late Peshwa in 1760 were to be formally relinquished.

In this alarming state of his affairs, the young Peshwa marched to oppose his uncle RAGOBA ; but having learned what sacrifice the latter was about to make, and reflecting on the ascendancy which so unnatural a war must give to the Nizam, the hereditary enemy of the Mahrattas, he offered no resistance when the two armies met, but threw himself into his uncle's power, by whom he was retained as a state prisoner, and RAGOBA reassumed all the functions of head of the Mahrattas. The consequences of this revolution soon became apparent. The personal adherents and friends of the young Peshwa were dismissed, and some of them imprisoned and disgraced ; measures which gave great umbrage to a very powerful party inimical to the regent. In addition to this, RAGOBA now hesitated to fulfil the engagements which he had made with the Nizam, who immediately prepared for war. The Mahrattas also took the field ; but avoiding an action with the enemy, plundered the Nizam's territories. Many of the partizans of the young Peshwa joined the Nizam, who, emboldened by this circumstance, penetrated to Poona, and not only sacked, but burned that town. This imprudent step created much disaffection among his Mahratta partizans, who received secret communications from the young Peshwa to return to the cause of their country, without regard to his condition. Meanwhile the Mahratta army burned the suburbs of Hyderabad, and having approached the Nizam's army, harassed it by skirmishes, without venturing on a general engagement.

The war had become so unpopular with the Mahratta chiefs allied with the Nizam, that placing little reliance on them, that prince was induced to retire towards Aurungabad. On reaching Rakisbori, a town on the banks of the Godaveri, the Muhammedan head-quarters and part of the cavalry had already crossed when the army of RAGOBA appeared in sight. He was too experienced a general not to perceive his advantage, and he instantly engaged that portion of the enemy which was still on the south bank. A desperate conflict ensued ; the regent RAGOBA's troops fell back ; and his own elephant being surrounded by the enemy, he was a prisoner in their hands. His gallant nephew, regardless of the injuries he had sustained, and of all personal advantages which must have accrued to him on the death or captivity of his uncle, addressed the corps of one hundred cavalry which formed his guard, and persuaded them to follow him in effecting the

regent's release. This band, animated with the same spirit which fired the bosom of the young hero, charged the body of the enemy into whose hands their prince had fallen, and the young Peshwa not only rescued his uncle, but turned the fate of the day, and obtained a complete victory, on which occasion the Nizam's prime minister and generalissimo fell. An account of this battle, which took place on the 11th August 1762, written by MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS, is still in existence, and affords a good sample of the vigorous style of the young Peshwa, then in his nineteenth year; but, consistently with the modesty which usually belongs to such minds, he makes no mention whatever of his own share in the transaction.

Letter from MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ NIZAM ALI KHAN marched on Rakisburi with his whole army, to cross
 “ the Godaveri. He himself, with eight hundred Patan cavalry, had
 “ already gained the north bank; the remainder, being about four thousand
 “ men, composed of cavalry, infantry, and guns, under VITALA SUNDER and
 “ VINÁYAK DÁS, were still on the south bank on the 28th of Mohram
 “ (11th August). In this situation, after a march of eight coss (sixteen
 “ miles), our light troops suddenly came upon the enemy, who drew up to
 “ receive us. An action ensued, which lasted four *ghatikas* (about an hour
 “ and a-half). The enemy behaved with great spirit, but was defeated.
 “ VITALA SUNDER's * head was cut off. VINAYIK DASS's body was also found
 “ among the slain, besides several other officers who were killed. About
 “ three hundred Patans were left dead on the field. MORÁD KHÁN and some
 “ officers of distinction have been made prisoners. A portion fled and
 “ escaped; but of those who attempted to swim the river many were
 “ drowned. The enemy's camp equipage has all fallen into our hands.
 “ Twenty guns, besides magazines of powder, rockets, balls and lead, have
 “ also been captured, as well as fifteen elephants.

“ On our part, MADHAJÍ NAYAC NIMBALKER and CULAJI RAO PATANKÚR
 “ were killed; in addition to some other chiefs. We have also a long list of
 “ wounded, but by the favour of God we gained the victory. BHOSLA has
 “ joined.”

The last three words conveyed to his correspondent the most important information of all. This chief was the Raja of Nagpore, who, with a con-

* The generalissimo.

siderable body of troops had taken part with the Nizam against the regent RAGOBA; but on discovering the active part the young Peshwa had taken, and owing to the private overtures made to him, he had joined the Maharrattas, and contributed mainly to effect the reconciliation which was subsequently brought about between the uncle and nephew.

The following letter, written by MORO BABU RAO, the cousin of Nana, to the latter, gives a very full explanation of the state of affairs.

“ South bank of the Godaveri, 22d August 1763.

“ It is some time since I heard from you : I beg of you always to patronize
“ me by your correspondence. I wrote to you from Aurungabad, and also
“ sent one or two letters afterwards, which I trust have been received. I
“ got one letter from you which contained no news ; and I am still in igno-
“ rance where you now are, or what you are about. With regard to us,
“ we were in the Nawáub's (Nizam's) camp with BHOSLA and the rest of the
“ chiefs. Meanwhile his Highness (RAGOBA), accompanied by BESÁLET
“ JENG (the Nizam's brother), came into the neighbourhood of our (the
“ Nizam's) camp. At this time his Highness RAGOBA's troops were in
“ great consternation. On our part the Mahratta auxiliaries were nu-
“ merous and formidable. His Highness RAGOBA's affairs were desperate,
“ for if he had been defeated by the Muhammedans, the Hindu government
“ might have been subverted. Taking this circumstance into our con-
“ sideration, GOPAL RAO (the chief of *Mirch*), and others of the Poona
“ party, made efforts to gain over BHOSLA, and to induce him to desert the
“ Nizam. Overtures had been made to us through his Highness (MADHU
“ RAO) for more than a month, when we at length deputed RAMAJÍ BELAL
“ and HARI U'MÁJÍ to proceed to his Highness RAGOBA's camp, and to make
“ terms for us all. His Highness, however, could not be brought to confide
“ in our promises, and he hesitated in attacking the Nizam's army, owing
“ to its strength, but marched to Ahmednagar. BHOSLA was now gained
“ over, and he resolved not to accompany the Moguls beyond the Godaveri.
“ We also took measures for breaking with the Nizam ; and GOPAL RAO
“ accordingly demanded some forts to be given into our hands, in order to
“ have places of safety for our families. This request not being acceded
“ to, afforded us a plea to quit the Moguls in disgust. I, with many others,
“ went to Mungulwehra.* The instant we reached home (that is the

* A town near Punderpore, on the Bhíma.

“ Mahratta territory), his Highness RAGOBA sent NARO SANKAR RAJA
 “ BEHADUR to us with ample promises ; we accordingly left the place of
 “ our retreat on the 11th of August,* and reached this camp on the 20th
 “ instant. We were met at some distance by both their Highnesses
 “ (RAGOBA and the young Peshwa), who told me they had written to you,
 “ and expected you here immediately.

“ Having entered into this detail, that you may know the state of affairs,
 “ let me hear from you ; and intimate when we may expect you. I propose
 “ taking leave in a day or two to proceed and visit my father at Devagirry
 “ (Dowlutabad). BHOSLA is with us, and encamped near to us.

“ The Nawaub (Nizam) got safely across the river. VITALA SUNDER, with
 “ three or four thousand Moguls, was still on the south bank when he was
 “ attacked by his Highness. VITALA SUNDER behaved most gallantly ; the
 “ battle raged for an hour and a-half with great fury. His Highness
 “ RAGOBA was obliged to fall back half a coss (a mile). The enemy pushed
 “ him vigorously ; for although the Mahrattas were the most numerous,
 “ they had no guns nor rockets. The action was brought to short weapons,
 “ and at length God favoured his Highness, who was saved and gained the
 “ victory. VITALA SUNDER, VINAYIK DÁS, the RAJA of KUNDHAR, with
 “ other chiefs, fell in the field.

“ His Highness says he is very desirous you and I should be in camp
 “ together. I am here already, and you are expected, so make haste and
 “ come.”

Postscript in the hand-writing of MORO BULAL PUTWARDHEN:—“ All the
 “ Putwardhens send their compliments.”

A partial reconciliation having been effected between the Peshwa and his
 uncle RAGOBA, and the most respectable chiefs having sided with the former,
 MADHU RAO felt himself at liberty to proceed with his army to the south
 and renew the campaign against Mysore, while his uncle was to be left in
 charge of the civil administration at Poona. This arrangement met the con-
 currence of all the ministers ; and the Peshwa departed. An incident however
 occurred, about this time, which rendered it necessary for him to alter his
 plans ; and it sets the characters of the young Peshwa and that of his uncle
 in their true light. RAGOBA, though ambitious, was naturally generous ;
 and though he could not part with his power, he admired the amiable and

* The very day of the battle.

manly conduct of his nephew, who even at this early age seems to have penetrated deeply into his uncle's character.

The Peshwa's army had arrived in the neighbourhood of Waí, when he learned by an express messenger that his uncle was raising troops and that he meditated an insurrection to effect his seizure. The measures which the Peshwa took on this occasion were as prompt as judicious. The persons on whose assistance RAGOBA chiefly relied had not yet reached Poona; no overt steps had been taken, but the plot was certain, and the instruments might soon be expected. The Peshwa was aware that his own party in Poona was at present strong, and that no troops had yet been raised by his uncle; he accordingly directed a considerable body of cavalry to return by the high road to the capital, while he, mounting a favourite mare, and with only one attendant, proceeded across the mountains, and reached the palace unexpectedly at daylight next morning. He sprang from his horse and ran through the apartments (unarmed as he was), till he reached his uncle's presence. RAGOBA, equally surprised and mortified at this sudden appearance of his nephew, feigned great gratification, and asked the cause. A few moments served the Peshwa to explain himself: "I am no sooner absent than your Highness, I hear, has ordered troops to be raised, which I learn are to be employed against me. This is quite unnecessary. I have left my army, and am come alone and unarmed to submit to your will, rather than be the cause of dissensions among my countrymen." RAGOBA is said to have melted into tears at the contemplation of so much generosity, and to have clasped his nephew in his arms. The day passed in professions of regard on the part of RAGOBA; and during the night the arrival of the Peshwa's troops placed him in a situation to enable him to make more satisfactory arrangements for the management of his affairs during his absence.

SAKARAM BAPPU, the most able minister of the state, was, on the whole, favourable to RAGOBA, for which reason the Peshwa insisted on his accompanying his army to the south, thus ensuring at the same time the use of his talents, and separating him from his uncle. The Dowager GOPÍKA BHYE, and her son NARAYAN RAO, remained in Poona; and NANA FARNEVIS was left in charge of the government; while RAGOBA and his wife ANANDÍ BHYE retired in much disgust to Anandivilli, where they had a palace on the Godaveri, near the town of Nasuk.

The military ardour of the young Peshwa prompted him to take the field

in person against HYDER, who had now usurped the whole power of the Mysore state ; but MADHU RAO's mind was full of anxiety for his domestic interests, as appears from the letters he wrote about this time to his deputy NANA FARNEVÍS.

From MADHU RAO PESHWA to NANA.

“ Camp, 17th March 1764.

“ I have received your letter, stating that my venerable mother is gone to Tryambac, and that she has left my brother NARAYAN RAO at Poona.

“ I have also received a list of the losses sustained through the fire, which shall be taken into consideration and replied to at a future period ; meanwhile, let me know where my uncle (RAGOBA) is at present. MULHAR RAO HOLKAR has seen him, accompanied by his minister ; and you must ascertain and let me know what passed between them, and what they intend doing.”

Again, on the 23d March 1764, he writes to NANA FARNEVÍS :

“ Your letters are not sufficiently in detail. Let me know where my uncle (RAGOBA) is, how he is, what he is doing, and what are his future plans. Have you not the means of ascertaining all these facts fully ? I should like to know what accounts he gets from my camp, and what he says of them. MULHARBA (MULHAR RAO HOLKAR) certainly met my uncle ; but I did not hear what passed. You must ascertain the particulars, and let me know. Write also all you hear regarding him.

“ Where does my mother mean to fix her residence ? Ascertain what passed between her and my uncle. I hear my mother's brother also visited her at Poona. Let me know, if you can, what occurred on the occasion.”

The delay caused by the necessity of the Peshwa's return to Poona, as has been stated, had prevented his making much progress in the war before the rains commenced in June, when he was obliged to put his army into quarters at some distance north of Dharwar. His uncle, who had at first retired towards Nasuk in disgust, now resolved to join his nephew, and giving orders for the equipment of a formidable army, gave out that he intended to march to the southern frontier, a measure by no means agreeable to the Peshwa, but which the latter could not directly oppose. The letters which MADHU RAO wrote to NANA on the subject of his uncle's equipments at this time, are important, and shew considerable talent in so young a person.

Official, in the hand-writing of the Secretary HARI PANT :

“ 12th of August 1764.

“ Your letter of the 21st of July was duly received on the 10th of August, stating, that you had received his Highness my uncle's orders to farm the revenues of the districts for the next year, and that you are accordingly doing so: that his Highness had gone to Tryambac: that two lacs (£20,000) had been fixed for the artillery equipments; and that when the instalments payable next month are received, you will send me a lac and a-half of rupees (£15,000). You observe, that money may be expected immediately from the revenues remittable by SINDIA and the GAIKWAR. Out of this, ‘ five lacs are required for the garrisons; half of the balance has been allotted for his Highness (my uncle's) equipments; and the other half is to be sent to the Carnatic.’ According to this statement, nothing remains over; but you say you will do all you can to meet my wants here. Now that you have got the management of the revenue department, I have no doubt you will contrive to raise something more than usual on account of government: of this I rest satisfied. By your account, the expenses of the new artillery establishment, and of the troops raising by my uncle, will be enormous. I should think so many guns quite unnecessary; nor ought such a number of new troops to be raised. I have written to him two or three times on this subject; but I wish you to take a favourable opportunity of impressing it on his mind. The enemy is not to be defeated merely by a large park of artillery. My uncle has already twenty guns with him. If they are properly equipped in every respect, they should be sufficient. Still, if his mind is set on having more guns, he must be indulged. Last year, when I left Poona, the sum of a lac and a-half of rupees was considered enough for my twenty guns; the estimates will be found in the arsenal. You had better carry them to my uncle, and shew them to him.

“ One word for all. Do not allow the expenses there (Poona) to be too large. I am always writing on this subject, and I beg of you constantly to remind my uncle of it. Our expenses here must necessarily be great.

“ The household troops have only received half their field allowances for last year, so that half is still due to them, independent of what is to be paid for this year. These are exclusive of payments to the artillery, and in compensation for horses killed in action. So, you see, the more money you can send here the better. I conclude, that the lac and a-half of

“ cash mentioned in your letter has been despatched ere this time. Bills
 “ have been drawn on you for 75,000 rupees, which I beg, after commu-
 “ nicating with my uncle, may be paid as they fall due; if any difficulty
 “ should be made, I shall lose my character. The money has been already
 “ advanced to us by the bankers in this quarter, so it is of the utmost
 “ importance to the credit of our camp-bankers that the money should be
 “ paid punctually, under any circumstances. This sum must not be deducted
 “ from that which you are sending to me. If it is true, as I hear, that
 “ some balances are due to the farmers of revenue of last year, it must be
 “ ascribed to the consequences of the war in this quarter. You must
 “ persuade them not to urge for repayment just now; but, if you can,
 “ endeavour to raise a loan from them, and at all events induce them to pay
 “ their future instalments punctually.”

The following is another letter of the same date, written in MADHU RAO's own hand :

“ 12th of August 1764.

“ The following is the state of affairs in this quarter :—HYDER NAIC is
 “ now in Hungul; his troops are much dispirited, and quit him daily, par-
 “ ticularly his infantry. He has at present from ten to twelve thousand
 “ regular infantry, besides about two or three thousand cavalry. It is on
 “ his regular infantry and guns he places his whole dependence; his
 “ cavalry will not remain long with him, and those in his camp at present
 “ are preparing to come over to me. With regard to my own troops, we
 “ are principally in want of supplies; provisions are dear, and a great deal
 “ of distress prevails. Forage, however, is still abundant. The cash you
 “ mentioned is not yet come. Pray let us have it quickly; it is impossible
 “ to say how much it is wanted.”

Other letters, dated the 21st and 22d of August; and the 3d, 5th, and 15th of September, are all in the same strain; want of money, and the necessity for limiting the military equipments of RAGOBA at Poona.

On the 27th of September 1764, MADHU RAO writes to NANA FARNEVIS in his own hand :

“ I have received your letter, and read it with great attention, particularly
 “ the part regarding PURANDHAR, and that stating the negociations to be
 “ in the hands of TRYAMBAC RAO MARNA.

“ You write that my uncle has been unwell. Let me hear how he is at
 “ present, and when he intends coming to this quarter.”

Again, on the same day :

“ Ascertain what is the nature of the correspondence my uncle has lately opened with the Nizam, and who are the people employed in this business.”

As a proof of the influence the females had at the court of Poona, and of the deference paid to them, the following letter is introduced :

On the 1st of June 1764, MADHU RAO writes : “ My aunt PÁRWATÍ BHYE (the widow of BHAO SAHIB, who commanded the army and lost his life at Paniput) complains of want of courtesy from you. By all means indulge her whims, and keep her in good humour ; do not give room to her to complain again.”

This line of conduct was accordingly adopted ; but the result is apparent from the following letter, dated the 6th of October 1764 :

“ I understand that PÁRWATÍ BHYE has procured some of the jewels to be sent to her from Sirgur. Enquire if this be the case ; and if so, procure them to be sent back into the fort without mentioning it to my uncle RAGOBA. Let this be done at once.

“ When I came away I told both you and NARO PANT not to allow any of those jewels to be removed without asking me. How is it then, when I spoke so plainly on this subject, that this has occurred ? You can tell my aunt (PÁRWATÍ BHYE) quietly, that ‘ you did not like to prevent her having the jewels to look at when she wanted them, for fear of giving her offence, but that you now beg her to send them back, for if I hear it I shall be very angry with you.’ Make this excuse to her, and get the jewels back. Do not let any body see this letter. This is the method of managing my aunt, so as to have the jewels back into the fort.”

In the month of December 1764, RAGOBA, having finished his field equipments, proceeded to join his nephew, whose military operations against HYDER, according to the historians of that time, Grant Duff and Colonel Wilks, were eminently successful. This youthful chieftain had driven the enemy's troops before him in all directions, and compelled HYDER to fall back, with his army dispersed, excepting two thousand five hundred horse and ten thousand infantry and guns ; and he was reduced to such extremities as to open a negociation through RAGOBA, who had just reached his nephew's camp. MADHU RAO gave up the whole of the negociation to his uncle, who effected a peace on terms which Colonel

Wilks, the historian of HYDER, observes,* were extremely moderate, considering the desperate circumstances in which HYDER stood. In a note, Colonel Wilks states, "NARO SANKER (RAJA BAHADUR) was the person " sent by RAGOBA to HYDER for the final adjustment of the terms; and " among them were, without question, some secret articles which were the " foundation of that good understanding which ever afterwards subsisted " between HYDER and RAGHUNÁTH RAO (RAGOBA)."

The young Peshwa was not deceived in the nature of this transaction; but having given his uncle full powers to treat, he had the honour to confirm the treaty, though he expressed his dissatisfaction in plain terms. HYDER paid £320,000 to the Mahrattas in February 1765; and their army retired to Poona.

These events only tended to create additional mistrust of his uncle on the part of the Peshwa, and dislike of the latter in the mind of RAGOBA.

The year 1765 was spent in enforcing payment of some tribute from the Raja of Nagpore; and in the latter end of the same year, in spite of the intrigues he had been carrying on throughout that period, RAGOBA obtained leave to assume the command of an army to proceed to Malwa.

The absence of the Mahratta troops from the southern frontier seems at this period to have incited HYDER to attack the territories of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, who formed a coalition against the chief of Mysore, in which the English were to join.

As a sample of the method of conducting his business, the following memorandum, dated 1767, in MADHU RAO's own hand, and left with NANA FARNEVIS, is given; it was found among the papers of the latter, and is curious:

" Done. 1. To settle the balances of the commissariat.

" 2. BABU RAO SADÁSIVA's business.

" Done. 3. To make half the advances to the troops.

" Done. 4. Equipments of the household horse.

" Done. 5. Revenues to be farmed to RASTIA.

" Done. 6. To examine GOPAL RAO's accounts.

" Done. 7. The balances due from GOPAL RAO on account of tribute,
" to be settled.

" Done. 8. GOPALJÍ BHOSLA's affairs.

" Done. 9. The Pungrunnere business.

- “ *Done.* 10. LACSHMAN KONERE’s accounts.
- “ *Done.* 11. The establishments for the Concan.
- “ *Done.* 12. CRISHNA RAO BULAL to be employed.
- “ *Done.* 13. Answer to MUHAMMED ALI KHAN’s letter.
 - “ 14. Shahpur to be made over to GOPAL RAO.
 - “ 15. The elephant from GOPAL RAO.
- “ *Done.* 16. Who is to be left in charge of the great seal.
 - “ 17. The Guzerat bills.
 - “ 18. Balances to be received from NIMBALKUR.
 - “ 19. HOLKAR’s money affairs.
 - “ 20. The arrangement for MAHÍPAT ROM’s troops.
- “ *Done.* 21. Letter to my uncle regarding BHOSLA.
- “ *Done.* 22. The *Desmukh* of Salsette.
- “ *Done.* 23. The *Desmukh* of Bassein.
- “ *Done.* 24. Reply to BHOSLA’s letter.
 - “ 25. Political affairs to be transacted through BABU RAO UDÃO.
- “ *Done.* 26. To fix the expenses of the hill-fort garrisons.
- “ *Done.* 27. To settle the business of the *Chowdri* of Kallian.
- “ *Done.* 28. 1,500 men to be sent (to join my army) from the Concan,
 - by GOTWAL PUT’HÍ.
- “ 29. Balances to be left with NARO CRISHNA.
- “ 30. Forts to be taken out of the charge of NARO CRISHNA.
- “ *Done.* 31. Settlement for the district of Nihar.”

It appears therefore that out of thirty-one memoranda of things to be done, twenty-one were carried into effect by himself previously to his quitting Poona to open the campaign, and the remaining ten were left to be fulfilled by NANA FARNEVÍS, and the other ministers remaining in Poona.

One of the earliest of MADHU RAO’s letters of the year 1767, written before he entered the enemy’s territory, is on the subject of a new garden and pleasure-house he wished to have constructed ere his return, to gratify his young wife RÁMÁ BHYE, to whom he was devotedly attached.

MADHU RAO Peshwa to NANA FARNEVÍS, in his own hand.

“ 24th January 1767.

“ I want to have a new garden and pleasure-house. BHUKAJÍ NAYAC
“ KOLUBKUR (a near connexion) has been entrusted with the arrangements

“ for it ; so pray comply with any requisition he may make of you to complete it.

“ Tear this letter.”

The pleasure-house, situated in the midst of a beautiful cypress garden on a handsome lake in the skirts of the town of Poona, is still standing, and is known by the appellation of the *Hira Bagh* (the diamond garden). It forms one of the most picturesque objects of the place, and has frequently employed the pencils of the European amateur artists of both sexes since we took possession of the country in 1818.

The same subject is alluded to in another letter, dated the 26th of March :

“ You will learn all the news from the accompanying letters. Do you never go to see how my new garden and pleasure-house are going on ? What sort of a place are they making of it ? How far is it advanced ? Write me all the particulars. Do you find my agent zealous in the undertaking, or does he throw obstacles in the progress of the work ? Let me hear also every little particular you can learn regarding Anan-divalli (the residence of his uncle's wife and family). Write these with your own hand, without letting any one see the letter.

“ I wish you would have the female apartments over the terrace of the new pleasure-house prettily painted, so that they may be worth looking at. This is a point I leave entirely to your own taste. You can let me know what is your opinion on this subject.”

“ Tear this letter.”

In another letter, dated the 6th of September 1767, MADHU RAO mentions having sent some very fine muslin, which he begs may be worked in gold for his lady ; with the usual injunction of destroying the order.

The following military letters, written by a youth of twenty-one, are spirited, and mark the character of the writer :

MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVIS and GOVIND SIVARANI, dated the 6th of March 1766.

“ The news in this quarter are that the fort of Mudgirí has fallen. It is a very nice place, resembling Dowlutabad. It was very unlikely to be carried by storm, but God so ordered it. This is the truth, for no one looking at it would say it could be taken in the way it was. It is certainly very strong. It is close to Sera. HYDER NAIC is at *Puttan* (Seringapatam), from whence he has sent an agent to treat for peace, but we have

“ come to no terms. I shall continue my march on Kolar and Oscotta.
“ We are fast recovering the districts taken from MORARI RAO. *Gorybinda*
“ has also fallen ; and the Raja and Raní of Bednore are in our hands,
“ which is an object of some importance.”

“ 8th of March 1767. Sera.

“ We found MÍR HYDER, the brother-in-law of HYDER NAIC, encamped
“ under the walls of this place, with about two thousand men. We in-
“ stantly attacked and defeated them, taking five or six guns. There were
“ two others that the enemy threw into the ditch, which we shall soon
“ have also. Of the guns captured on this occasion two are beautiful
“ field pieces, better by far than any we have in our arsenal. We have
“ established ourselves on the same spot the enemy occupied, and also on
“ the crest of the glacis, where our trenches are now being formed ; and,
“ the batteries once opened, we shall, by the blessing of God, soon have
“ the place.

“ Let me hear from you, what you are all about.”

Again :

“ The fort of *Sera* has fallen. I wrote that we first defeated MÍR
“ HYDER, who was encamped on the outside, and took his guns. In
“ short, by the favour of God, much has been accomplished in a short
“ space of time. The MÍR (MÍR HYDER) has engaged to enter the
“ Mahratta service. He is to have a *jagír* (an estate), yielding five lacs
“ annually. He has been negotiating some days for the surrender of the
“ place ; and having given it up, has now consented also to take the *jagír*.
“ The districts lately placed under his control are to be occupied by our
“ own people ; and he is to serve with our head-quarters. He has consented
“ to send for his family, which is to reside at Poona. His *jagír* is to
“ consist of districts, half in this part of the country and half near
“ Poona.”

“ 16th April 1767.

“ The fort of Oscotta has fallen. It is a strong place. This, with other
“ districts occupied, yield an annual revenue of twenty-five lacs of rupees.
“ The MÍR has recovered also the districts which our government
“ formerly held in the vicinity of Gurumconda. The territory yielding
“ five lacs, held originally by MORARÍ RAO, with all his forts, has also
“ fallen to our troops again ; so that *Jugdú* is now the only Mahratta
“ district which we have not got back again.

“ Hitherto we have been solely occupied in military operations, securing
“ the country ; but not one rupee of cash has been raised on it. The
“ tribute due from Harponelly and other places, however, has been realized,
“ and I have obtained eight or nine lacs of rupees more by bills. The
“ main objects of the war have been nearly accomplished, and very little
“ remains to be done. HYDER KHAN, however, still possesses his own
“ original country untouched.

“ With regard to our future operations, this is the state of the case. It
“ was originally agreed on, that the Nawab NIZAM ALI KHAN should march
“ and co-operate with our troops. He still writes he is coming, coming.
“ This is in the true Mogul style, ever slow and lazy to the last. I have
“ recovered for him Banu and other places belonging to BESALET JENG,
“ who from being formerly connected with HYDER, and being at present in
“ the NIZAM’S camp, favours the enemy by throwing obstacles in the
“ advance of the Nizam’s army, and by endeavouring to persuade his
“ brother, that more will be attained by negotiating than by fighting. The
“ NIZAM however has actually left Raidrúg, and is I believe advancing at
“ last. Were it not for RUKM-UD-DOWLA (who is an excellent person) all
“ our affairs in that quarter would go wrong. We must contrive to keep
“ him on our side and in good-humour, and entrust all our concerns to him
“ alone. Had the Nizam co-operated with us at first, we should have con-
“ cluded the business before this time. Had he even declined to do so, we
“ could have continued our own operations without reference to him ; but
“ as it is, we are hampered owing to the delay. There is no probability of
“ the Nizam uniting with HYDER against us ; but the latter, calculating that
“ both our armies will not remain here during the monsoon, seems hanging
“ back to see with whom he may negotiate with most advantage in the end.
“ He has promised to pay the *peshkush* (a sum of money) to the Nizam, on
“ condition of his breaking off his alliance with us ; and to me he engages to
“ pay down thirty lacs of rupees if we relinquish the territory we have
“ recovered ; but the forts we have taken are strong, and if they are given
“ up, we shall not take them again so easily. Of these, some are hill-forts,
“ which we must not relinquish. This is the point for which I am at present
“ contending. HYDER is aware that the Nizam is advancing, and has some
“ apprehension on that score ; still I do not think peace is likely to be con-
“ cluded immediately. If HYDER is to be farther reduced, we must take
“ Bangalore, and even advance on Seringapatam. At all events we must

“ now carry the thing through ; yet, as the rains are so near, the time will
 “ hardly admit of our attempting both objects at present. Meanwhile you
 “ must contrive to raise twenty-five lacs of rupees for our necessities ; for,
 “ even should peace be concluded, the payments of cash will only be made
 “ by instalments, and we want twenty-five lacs as soon as possible. I
 “ propose leaving GOPAL RAO RASTIA with fifteen thousand men in this
 “ quarter, to maintain the impression already made, and to preserve the
 “ places we have occupied. The twenty-five lacs of rupees, however, must
 “ be supplied by you, although it would certainly have been more convenient
 “ if we could have reduced Bangalore, and compelled HYDER to pay the
 “ expenses of the war at once.”

The following treaty was concluded a few days afterwards, and is in the handwriting of HARI PANT FARKIA, the officer who subsequently commanded the Mahratta army, which joined the Marquess Cornwallis in 1792, at Bangalore :

“ Memorandum : Money payments.

“ Tribute ; net.....	Rupees 28,00,000
“ Durbar <i>khurch</i> , or fees	2,00,000
“ Sundries	1,00,000
“ Rupees	31,00,000

“ Payable by instalments :

“ To be paid at present	16,00,000
“ ——— in July (through bankers)	7,50,000
“ ——— in October (ditto)	7,50,000
“ Rupees	31,00,000

“ Articles of the treaty concluded :

“ *Article 1st.* Of the country conquered by the Mahrattas in this campaign, the following districts are to be restored to HYDER NAIC :

- “ 1st. Chick Balapore, including forts.
- “ 2d. District of Colar.
- “ 3d. District of Dewanhully.

“ *Article 2d.* HYDER is to retain possession of the following districts formerly taken from the Mahrattas :

“ 1. Buswapatam.

“ 2. Boindytall.

“ 3. Judgeu.

“ *Article 3d.* HYDER is to be permitted to retain, without molestation, the following districts taken from the Poligars :

“ 1. Hingulwarri.

“ 2. Mergesy.

“ *Article 4th.* The Mahrattas are to retain all the districts which they have recovered, belonging to MORARI RAO GHORÍPORÍA ; and HYDER agrees to restore the remainder still in his possession.

“ *Article 5th.* HYDER is not to molest those officers who reside in the vicinity of Sera, nor the Poligars, who have assisted the Mahrattas, nor the Mír of Gurunconda, for the share they respectively took in this campaign.

“ *Article 6th.* The Nizam is to receive the arrears of *peshkush* (tribute) for the last three years, *viz.* Rupees 18,00,000 (£180,000), at the rate of six lacs of rupees annually ; credit being given by him for what he may have already received. The remainder is to be paid as follows : half to be paid down at once ; the balance in six months from this date.

“ *Article 7th.* The *Srírangí* temples are to be supported, and the *Sewani* (or religious superior) is not to be molested in any way, whether he go there or not.

“ *Article 8th.* TAMANA NAYAK, CRISHNAPA NAYAK, and the Harponhully Brahmans, are to be released from confinement.

“ *Article 9th.* The village allotted for the support of the temple of *Gokun Mahables'war*, by DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA) in 1765 (on the occasion of the last treaty), is to be restored.

“ *Article 10th.* The Mahrattas are not to molest HYDER ALI KHAN's officers, whether Mahrattas or dependents of MORARÍ RAO, for the part they may have taken in the present campaign.

“ *Article 11th.* HYDER ALI KHAN promises to cause to be regularly paid all charitable and religious stipends to Brahmans and temples within his own territory, according to established usage, and not to molest the Hindus on account of their religion.

“ Presents are to be mutually interchanged through the agency of the respective ambassadors after the ratification of this treaty.”

The allies now retired to their capitals: but it is remarkable, that, in the

whole of these letters, no allusion is once made to the English, although it is said by our historians that they were included in the offensive alliance against HYDER.

It will be recollected, that, after the campaign against the Raja of Nagpore in 1766, and previously to the coalition of the Peshwa and the Nizam in 1767 against HYDER, RAGOBA had obtained the command of a separate army, with which he proceeded to Malwa, accompanied by MULHAR RAO HOLKAR, a chief with whom it has been shewn he maintained a close and friendly intercourse. What were his ultimate views, did not at first appear; and at all events they were for the present obstructed by the death of MULHAR RAO, and the accession of a silly young prince, his grandson, MALLÍ RAO, who did not long survive his predecessor, but died in March 1767, leaving no heirs. At his death his mother, the celebrated AHILYA BHYE, became the sole representative of the family. HOLKAR's minister GANGÁDHAR YESWANT made interest with RAGOBA, then on the spot, to procure a child to be adopted as HOLKAR's heir, a measure which was resisted by the Dowager AHILYA BHYE. The correspondence of this year commences, however, before these events, but leads on to them.

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS, in his own hand.

“ 6th of January 1767.

“ I received your letter enclosing that from BAJÍ GOVIND. I am very
“ anxious for news from that quarter (Malwa). You must write to BAJÍ
“ GOVIND therefore to let me hear constantly every thing that occurs, but
“ in such a manner as to prevent a certain person knowing that he commu-
“ nicates with us at all.

“ Let me hear what has been the result of the orders to the commanders
“ of the garrisons and to the district officers : also how his (RAGOBA's) officers
“ are disposed towards him : how he is satisfied with them, and how he
“ treats them : the same with respect to his ministers and men of
“ business.

“ Who is the minister at present, and who possesses his confidence most?
“ In what direction are his next movements to carry him? What are his
“ ultimate views, and what his present intentions? Does he talk of return-
“ ing to this quarter? Let BAJÍ PANT ascertain all these points minutely ;
“ and let me hear very frequently. Write to BAJÍ PANT, and tell him to
“ send his communications through you.”

From the same to the same.

“ 9th of March 1767.

“ I hear that GOPAL GURISH BHARVÍ is to be deputed on a secret mission
“ to the Nizam by ANANDÍ BHYE (RAGOBÁ's wife) from Nasuk. Look to
“ this, and endeavour to intercept him, and secure any papers he may
“ have.”

The following extract of a letter from the same to the same is on the
subject of RAGOBÁ's movements :

“ 26th of March 1767.

“ I wish you to procure more complete information of my uncle's move-
“ ments and intentions, through BAJÍ PANT. I hear he has two plans : the
“ one is, to come back to Anandivalli (where his wife resides); and the
“ other, to return to Poona. I will let you know, when I hear for certain,
“ on which he resolves. Do not let any body know the contents of this
“ letter, but tear it after perusal.”

From the same to the same.

“ I hear that my uncle DADA SAHIB is coming instantly to the Deccan,
“ from Hindustan. I wrote to you before to desire GOVIND SIVARAM (one
“ of the ministers at Poona) to meet him ; but I have reports that some of
“ HYDER's sailors have landed on the coast, and are plundering in the
“ Concan. If this be true, I shall not be satisfied unless GOVIND SIVARAM
“ goes as far as Vidyádúrg, and makes every thing secure in that quarter.
“ Yet, in case my uncle is coming immediately from Hindustan, he must
“ go and meet him in preference. The question therefore now rests on the
“ immediate approach of my uncle. If he should have reached the Ner-
“ budda river already, on his way south, let GOVIND SIVARAM be instantly
“ despatched to his camp ; but if not, let him go to the Concan. Explain
“ my wishes to GOVIND SIVARAM, and let me know what takes place. I
“ enclose a short letter for him, which you can deliver.

From the same to the same.

“ 22d of April 1767.

“ I hear that one BABU RAO SADASTVA is in the habit of writing confi-
“ dential letters, reporting every thing to my uncle. It is necessary to take
“ precautions on this subject, and if possible, to intercept some of the
“ correspondence. I understand BABU RAO resides at present at Toka (a
“ town on the Godaveri, a hundred miles north of Poona), and I forward

“ to you a letter from DEVÁNDA MADHU of Dowlutabad, which will give you
“ every information necessary to enable you to act in this conjuncture of affairs.
“ Let GOVIND SIVARAM also be informed of this channel of communication.”

From the same to the same.

“ 25th of April 1767.

“ I must have more frequent information relating to my uncle. I have
“ therefore sent JOTÍ CRISHNA from hence to Burhanpur, and attached
“ several camel messengers to him, by whom he will send me news daily.
“ I beg of you also to write all that you may hear. I formerly wrote to
“ you to send GOVIND SIVARAM to my uncle, and I conclude he is gone;
“ if not, let him go forthwith.

From the same to the same.

“ I do not hear now of what my uncle is doing. I write to you con-
“ stantly on this subject, but you do not manage the intelligence depart-
“ ment well. Have a post established for the purpose, so as to admit of
“ my hearing constantly. Have the post established even from beyond
“ Burhanpur. I trust GOVIND SIVARAM has left Poona long ago; if not,
“ you have managed famously, truly! You know I have written frequently
“ that he might go; but as yet I have no intimation of his having actually
“ gone. Surely this is very strange.”

The following letter from DADOBÁ WAGOLÍKAR, the Peshwa's agent at Indur, to NANA FARNEVÍS, shews the state of affairs at Malwa. The original letter having been forwarded to MADHU RAO in camp, the copy extant is in NANA FARNEVÍS's hand-writing :

From DADA WAGOLÍKAR to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 22d of March 1767.

“ His Highness MADHU RAO sent me to reside here; but the chief
“ (MALLÍ RAO HOLKAR) died on the 10th of March. Both his widows went
“ with him (burned with his corpse).

“ The Dowager AHILYA BHYE alone is left. The estates are large. She
“ talks of retiring to Benares. The minister, GANGÁDHAR YESWANT is here,
“ but his son DADAJÍ GANGÁDHAR is with his Highness RAGOBA DADA in
“ this quarter. The minister's son writes, that as his Highness intends to
“ resume the estates, the dowager and the minister ought immediately to
“ go to his Highness's camp, and make up their minds to pay him a large
“ fine to be allowed to hold them.

“ He urges this step very strongly, and assures his father that he will
 “ take care to prevent any opposition to the continuation of the estates
 “ from the other quarter (meaning on the part of the Peshwa). DADAJÍ
 “ GANGÁDHAR writes to his father to rely entirely on the interest at his
 “ Highness RAGOBÁ's head-quarters. Such is the nature of the letter
 “ written by the minister's son. It is clear therefore that their views are to
 “ settle the affair here, and only to keep up appearances with you.

“ For myself, you know I am but a humble individual, and merely
 “ represent this for the information of his Highness the Peshwa. I have
 “ no one to look to but yourself, whose influence with his Highness is
 “ notoriously greater than that of any one beside. Pray write to him, and
 “ forward this letter to him. I could not venture to send it the whole
 “ distance to his camp, for fear of its miscarrying, so I beg of you to
 “ despatch it by an active camel messenger by express.

“ Such were my orders, and I was directed to communicate them to no
 “ one but yourself. I enjoin you by the most sacred oaths, not to reveal
 “ what I have written.

“ I hope your Excellency will not be offended at the liberty I take when
 “ I suggest that HOLKAR's estates in the Deccan may be resumed for the
 “ present; this measure will, I think, promote the good of his Highness
 “ MADHU RAO's affairs. If you cannot venture on such a step yourself,
 “ you might wait till you receive an answer, when there will be no respon-
 “ sibility with you, and you can have nothing to be apprehensive of.

“ Send on this letter quickly. I have done my duty: the rest remains
 “ with you.”

This letter must have reached MADHU RAO about the time of his forming the treaty with HYDER, and in the midst of other important business. His agent at Indur had formerly written to him, that he might under any circumstances rely on HOLKAR's minister GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, and his son, as being attached to his interests in preference to those of his uncle; but the object of the minister in effecting the adoption of an infant through RAGOBÁ's power in Malwa, and thus securing to himself the sole administration of the HOLKAR estate, seems to have made him change his party.

The reply to the letter of NANA FARNEVÍS, forwarding the foregoing document, conveys a good idea of the deliberation the young Peshwa observed in his conduct towards the chief families of the state.

From MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVIS.

“ I have received your letter, enclosing that of DADOBA WAGOLÍKAR.
“ We must not resume any of the HOLKAR estates in the Deccan at present,
“ for many reasons. In the first place, if we were to incur the expense,
“ we ought to be reimbursed in ten or twelve lacs of rupees at least ; but
“ as the season for making the collections is over, we shall obtain nothing :
“ secondly, the measure will give great offence to my uncle, who will con-
“ clude it is done because the HOLKARS negotiated with him : thirdly,
“ GANGOBA (GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, HOLKAR’S minister) will immediately
“ conclude that I am personally hostile to him and the HOLKARS, which
“ will decide him in throwing himself at once into my uncle’s arms. These
“ are the motives which induce me not to resume the lands in the Deccan.
“ Were ten or twenty lacs of rupees to be gained, we might overlook the
“ obstacles I mention ; that not being the case, and there being no advan-
“ tage equivalent to the inconvenience arising out of the measure, I did
“ not think it necessary to reply to your letter before.

“ In answer to DADOBA WAGOLÍKAR, you need assign no reasons, but
“ simply say, ‘ What has become of all your fine promises regarding GAN-
“ ‘ GOBA’S attachment to us ? He may, of course, act as he thinks proper.’

“ Let the style of your letter to him be formal and impressive. You may
“ also go on to say, ‘ You have always written to say GANGOBA was devoted
“ ‘ to us, and this we have not forgotten. Be it so : we shall see how matters
“ ‘ turn out. You have been evidently acting a part for your own interests.
“ ‘ Very well.’

“ GANGOBA will of course hear the contents of your letter ; never mind :
“ there is abundance of time to punish those who systematically deceive us.
“ Tear this letter.”

The struggle at HOLKAR’S court was between the Dowager AHILYA BHYE and GANGÁDHAR YESWANT. The former finding such powerful opposition to her claims, applied secretly to the Peshwa to confirm the estates on her ; while the minister, in conjunction with RAGOBA, wished for the adoption of a boy, in order to preserve the management of affairs in his own hands. The latter object being defeated, RAGOBA resolved to march southward, accompanied by all the great chiefs, with the avowed intention of demanding from his nephew a division of the empire, retaining in his own hands all the country north of the Godaveri, and permitting his nephew to manage uncontrolled all that lying to the south of that river.

MADHU RAO resolved to resist this plan, and employed his emissaries in his uncle's camp to counteract his schemes; and NARO SANKAR RAJA BEHADUR, one of RAGOBA's principal dependents, was gained over to the side of his nephew.

RAGOBA's irritability of temper frequently disgusted his chiefs; and his liberality and profusion, though it secured the affection of his troops, usually involved him in pecuniary difficulties, as has been before shewn; but his situation was particularly embarrassing on the occasion of his return from Malwa. Having exhausted all the available resources in that quarter, he brought an army, with its pay in arrear to the amount of twenty-five lacs of rupees (£250,000), to the Deccan, and several of his chief officers disgusted: the project of claiming a division of the authority of the state was therefore more easily formed than carried into effect.

In the month of July MADHU RAO reached Poona, and RAGOBA was on his march to the south, as appears by the following letter from NARO HARI (an officer in Candeish) to the Peshwa MADHU RAO.

“ 24th of July 1767.

“ I arrived at Raweri near Burhanpur, and waited there in order to join
 “ his Highness DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA), on his return from Hindustan; but
 “ he took the route of Sindwa, by which he entered Candeish. I was therefore
 “ unable to join him before he reached Nere, on the Panzur river, from
 “ whence his Highness proceeded by the route of Mulhere, Tengora, and
 “ Dhuruss to Nasuck. Upon my informing him that I had collected and
 “ paid the revenues of the *Batti* claims to your Highness, DADA SAHIB
 “ (RAGOBA) became very angry with me, and said, ‘ never mind, you will
 “ ‘ have to pay them to me at last.’ ”

NARO SANKAR RAJA BEHADUR, in his own hand, to MADHU RAO BULAL.

“ 22d of July 1767.

“ I have seen GANGÁDHAR PANT, who was sent here by your Highness,
 “ and received many kind assurances of your favour from him. God
 “ knows how much I am delighted: it is highly gratifying to me and worthy
 “ of yourself, to recollect your old servant. I am entirely devoted to your
 “ Highness's interests, and am only desirous of proving it. I have com-
 “ municated unreservedly to CHIMNAJÍ MANKES'WAR, who will represent
 “ what I have said to your Highness. You may rely also on what GAN-
 “ GÁDHAR PANT will report, as quite true: as God is my witness.”

Letter from GOPAL RAO PATWARDHEN of-Mirch, in his own hand, to
MADHU RAO Peshwa.

“ 5th of August 1767.

“ I shall take the earliest opportunity of joining your Highness at Poona,
“ and I shall direct my troops to follow me as you wish, by a few dropping
“ in at a time in succession, till all my division arrives.”

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 4th of September 1767.

“ ABA HASHEMNEVÍS (superintendent of the garrison militia), the deputy
“ of CHINTO VITTEL (RAGOBA's minister), told me when I was at Poona
“ that, if it was desirable, he could procure the forts of Asír and Ahmed-
“ nagar to be delivered into my hands. At that time I did not deem
“ it necessary to avail myself of his offer, but I should like to do so now.
“ You must therefore speak privately to ABA HASHEMNEVÍS on this subject,
“ and secure these forts: if he hesitates, and says he has not the same
“ means of obtaining them as formerly, you must tell him at once plainly
“ that I shall suspect him of having deserted my interests to espouse those
“ of my uncle.

“ Regarding the fort of Sewnere, VISAJÍ PANT and NARO TRYAMBAK
“ DÉSMUKH talk of making it over to my uncle. Desire them for the
“ present to make some excuse for delaying to do so till after he and I
“ have met.”

GOVIND SIVARAM to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ Singwa, on the Godaveri, 2d of September 1767.

“ Having gone to his Highness RAGOBA's camp, and remained there three
“ or four days, and communicated my business, I am thus far on my return
“ to join his Highness MADHU RAO.

“ His Highness RAGOBA has sent CHINTO ANNUD to accompany me, and
“ by the blessing of God, their Highnesses will soon meet.

“ It is to be hoped that matters will then be accommodated. At present
“ they are very bad.”

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ Rahuri, 9th of September 1767.

“ CHINTO ANUND and GOVIND SIVARAM have come here and stated what
“ my uncle's intentions and wishes are. Among other proposals are, that he
“ insists on my going to meet him with only five hundred men, and that he is
VOL. II.

“ not to cross the Godaveri or the Dharna, but to remain in his camp with his army and guns. Why should I take five hundred men with me? If I am to reign, ten attendants will be sufficient; if not, what would be the use of twenty-five thousand men? With these feelings therefore I shall go on, and he may act as he thinks proper. It is very likely I may be doing wrong; but that which is ordained by God must of necessity happen. Misfortune may befall me; but go I will, whatever be the consequence. Do not shew this letter to any one. I depend much on SÉWACRAM PANT.”

The result of this determination being made known to RAGOBA, he wrote the following letter to his nephew, in his own hand.

“ 9th of September 1767.

“ Write to me when it will be convenient for us to meet. In case you have any troops with you, do not keep them behind, let them all come on. Do not come alone. Our meeting on this occasion should take place in proper state. It is long since we saw each other. Do not delay.

“ To-morrow will be Wednesday, and would be a good day, but the meeting cannot take place. Friday, however, will answer as well.

“ P.S. I send fourteen Kowli oranges and thirty-three ripe plantains, by the camel messenger who conveys this letter, of which I beg your acceptance.

“ Despatched Tuesday evening.”

MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 9th of September 1767.

“ If NARO PANT DÉSMUKH effects the business at Sewnere,* a public letter may be written to him, giving him authority to act, but not till he accomplishes the object.

“ I have directed VISAJI PANT LILLI's attention to the same point, and if they can be brought to co-operate, so much the better.”

MADHU RAO (written by his secretary HARI PANT) to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 12th of September 1767.

“ Your letter regarding Sewnere has been received, stating that you require official authority to occupy it previously to the arrival of the regular infantry from my uncle's camp. At present it is not advisable to

* This expression alludes to the occupation of Sewnere by RAGOBA's troops.

“ do any thing. We must wait till we see how matters turn out here.
“ Some troops have been sent by my uncle I know, but we have to see
“ whether they will be received into the garrison or not. We must main-
“ tain our communication with it as long as it is possible to do so.

“ You write that ABA has gained over the garrisons of Jivadhan and
“ Hurshur. This is all right. Keep up your good understanding with
“ them till it be time to act, of which I will apprise you.

“ You state that you have spoken to ABA about Asír and Ahmednagar,
“ that you write the details respecting the former, and that he has commu-
“ nicated with his deputy regarding the latter. That is also right. Do not
“ fail to let me know when you hear more about Nagar (Ahmednagar).

“ You state, as an objection to TULAJÍ ANGRÍA being sent to Solapore,
“ that it is full of Vidyadrúg prisoners, and you recommend Dowlutabad in
“ preference. This is true. Let him be sent under a safe escort therefore
“ to Dowlutabad.

“ You advise me that you have sent BABU RAO CRISHNA to superintend
“ the post-office department with me, and he was to have met me at the
“ Sena river. I have seen nothing of him yet. If you have despatched
“ him, however, he must join me soon.”

From MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 12th of September 1767.

“ My uncle and I met yesterday: nothing beyond mere compliments
“ passed. No business was transacted.”

From the same (in the hand-writing of HARI PANT) to the same.

“ 24th of September 1767.

“ Up to this time we have had nothing but discussions; and finding there
“ was little chance of our coming to any satisfactory accommodation, I
“ resolved to march away, and abide by the result. In the mean time, the
“ ministers on both sides induced my uncle to accept of the following con-
“ ditions, with a promise on his part to allow me the sole control of my
“ own affairs, while I agreed to treat him with becoming respect, and even
“ to consult him on matters of great importance.

“ He required for himself an estate yielding ten lacs of rupees (£100,000)
“ annually, and some forts. There would have been no difficulty on my
“ part in acceding to these terms, but it seemed to me very unlikely that he

“ would remain satisfied and quiet, even after I had fulfilled them. The
 “ delay of a day ensued in consequence ; but my ministers were of opinion
 “ that I ought to close with these conditions at once. I found therefore I
 “ had nothing to do but to give my consent, as they might afterwards
 “ reproach me, if any thing should occur. I accordingly told them to act
 “ as they chose ; and, as there was some cause for thinking that if the
 “ Mogul (the Nizam) should come into this neighbourhood, he might
 “ intrigue in that quarter, I believe I have done right.

“ These are the terms :

“ *Article 1st.* My uncle is to have an estate of ten lacs. Also twelve forts
 “ are to be retained by him, as follows :

“ Oundi Patta and its dependencies	4 forts.
“ The Kownye district.....	5 do.
“ Bhaskurgur.....	1 do.
“ Multun	1 do.
“ Trimbuck	1 do.

“ Asír, Ahmednagar, Sewnere, Satára, and all the other forts are to be
 “ placed in my possession.

“ *Article 2d.* His Highness MADHU RAO's government is to pay the balances
 “ due to the chiefs and troops on account of the late war in Hindustan,
 “ provided they do not exceed twenty-five lacs of rupees. The whole of
 “ this sum is to be paid within one year, and security to be given for its
 “ payment ; when this is done, orders for the delivery of the forts into the
 “ hands of his Highness MADHU RAO will be granted in return.

“ *Article 3d.* His Highness MADHU RAO is in future to manage the concerns
 “ of his government in Hindustan, with which his Highness RAGHUNATH
 “ RAO (RAGOBA) is not to interfere.

“ The same with regard to Guzerat.

“ The same with regard to Gaikwar.

“ On these points, his Highness MADHU RAO is to be his own master.

“ *Article 4th.* The chiefs SINDIA, HOLKAR, NARO SANKAR RAJA BEHADUR,
 “ VITTUL S'IVADÉVA VINCHUR KUR, TRYAMBAK RAO S'IVADÉVA VINCHUR
 “ KUR, JEWAJI POWAR, &c. &c., are required to perform their accus-
 “ tomed service to his Highness MADHU RAO's government, and to abstain
 “ from all foreign and domestic intrigues ; to obey his orders, and to go
 “ wherever they may be required. On the above terms, the estates at

“ present held by those chiefs respectively shall be allowed to remain in
“ their possession.

“ *Article 5th.* His Highness RAGHUNÁTH RAO (RAGOBA) is to abstain
“ from all political intercourse whatsoever with BHOSLA (Raja of Nagpore).
“ If he has business with him, it must be transacted through his Highness
“ MADHU RAO's government.

“ *Article 6th.* His Highness RAGHUNÁTH RAO (RAGOBA) agrees to
“ abstain generally from all political intercourse with other states, and from
“ domestic intrigues of every sort; and promises not to act in any way so
“ as to affect the interests of his Highness MADHU RAO's government.

“ *Article 7th.* A body of cavalry, consisting of two hundred and fifty
“ men,* are to be paid by government, and to attend his Highness
“ RAGHUNÁTH RAO as a guard of honour.

“ *Article 8th.* No chiefs nor individuals are to be punished by either party
“ on account of the share they may have taken in the late discussions; and
“ if they perform their duty in future with fidelity, it is promised they shall
“ be treated with favour.

“ The above articles, drawn up by the ministers on both sides, were
“ ratified by the mutual oaths of the parties themselves.

“ The detail of the cessions will be found in a separate schedule which is
“ preparing, a copy of which will be forwarded. The heads only are men-
“ tioned for your information. My uncle is now to retire to Anandivalli, and
“ after the arrival of the Poona bankers, who have been sent for, security
“ will be given for the payments, and the orders for the delivery of the
“ forts will be received. After they are in our possession I shall proceed
“ to Poona. Such is the state of affairs here. You have been desired to
“ raise men for the forts. We shall require about 1,500 who may be
“ depended on. You may now discharge such of the cavalry at Poona as
“ can be dispensed with, keeping only the Suranjam horse. Let the Poona
“ bankers be sent as soon as possible.”

The original instrument, with the seals of the parties, is dated on the next day, the 25th of September 1767. The following document contains some additional articles :

* This number, at the request of his uncle, was increased to three hundred and fifty men.

“ Memorandum. Additional requisitions made by his Highness RA-
 “ GHUNÁTH RAO, and agreed to by the Peshwa, written in the hand of
 “ each :

In RAGHUNÁTH RAO's hand :

“ Article I. In case BHOSLA (Raja of
 “ Nagpore), the GAIKWAR, or any other
 “ chiefs should have made use of ex-
 “ pressions, or conducted themselves
 “ for my sake in an offensive manner,
 “ no notice is now to be taken of
 “ what has passed. If they are guilty
 “ of high crimes hereafter, let them
 “ be punished accordingly.

“ Article II. In the event of the
 “ troops of government passing through
 “ my estates and damaging them, I
 “ am to be indemnified for the loss, if
 “ considerable. If the damage does
 “ not exceed one thousand rupees, I
 “ shall make no demand for remunera-
 “ tion.

“ Article III. If HOLKAR should
 “ plunder the districts on the Ner-
 “ budda, he shall be fined in four
 “ times the amount.

“ Article IV. When DAMAJÍ GAIK-
 “ WAR, BHOSLA, HOLKAR, SINDIA, and
 “ other such great chiefs proceed from
 “ hence to their commands, it would
 “ be gratifying to me that they should
 “ come to Anandivalli, and after re-

In MADHU RAO's hand :

“ Article I. The persons alluded to
 “ shall not be visited with punishment
 “ for any thing that has occurred. If
 “ any one should be guilty in future,
 “ he will be punished accordingly.
 “ Agreed.

“ Article II. Government troops
 “ have no business on your estates ;
 “ notwithstanding which, orders shall
 “ be issued to prevent damage. The
 “ district of Hindia may lie on the
 “ road, but precautions shall be taken
 “ to prevent damage. If it should
 “ be only trifling, it is hoped you will
 “ pass it over : if the damage be
 “ heavy, it shall be made good to
 “ you.

“ Agreed.

“ Article III. If HOLKAR wantonly
 “ plunder your districts, he shall be
 “ compelled to make restitution for
 “ the injury sustained.

“ Agreed.

“ Article IV. When the chiefs of
 “ Hindustan return, they shall be di-
 “ rected to wait on you on their de-
 “ parture, when you may entertain
 “ them for three or four days, and
 “ then take leave of them.

“ maining with me three or four days,
“ take their final leave.

“ Article V. Measures are to be
“ taken for the payment of the cash
“ within the limited period.

“ Article VI. My estates are to be
“ granted so as to enable me to rea-
“ lize ten lacs of rupees net revenue,
“ independent of fort expenses.

“ Article VII. The persons belong-
“ ing to my public departments at pre-
“ sent shall not be removed unless con-
“ victed of fraud or treason, when it
“ shall be competent for you to re-
“ place them by others.

“ Article VIII. All persons having
“ *Mokassa* claims in my districts,
“ shall be taught to look to me and
“ serve me.

“ Articles IX. Articles procurable
“ only at Poona, or at a distance, to
“ the amount of twenty-five thousand
“ rupees (£2,500), are to be sent by
“ government to me, if required, an-
“ nually.”

“ Done in camp, at Anandivalli, the 30th of September 1767.”

“ You may rely on meeting with no
“ obstacle to your wishes in this respect.
“ Agreed.

“ Article V. Measures have been
“ already adopted, and the period of
“ the payment of the instalments fixed,
“ to the fulfilment of which I pledge
“ myself.

“ Agreed.

“ Article VI. Your estates, inde-
“ pendent of fort establishments,
“ shall be calculated to yield you ten
“ lacs of rupees without deductions.
“ Agreed.

“ Article VII. They shall not be
“ removed but for some specific crime.
“ Agreed.

“ Article VIII. KEROJÍ POWAR,
“ who is bound to maintain one hun-
“ dred and fifty horse; and BANDÍ,
“ one hundred horse, are already in-
“ cluded in the agreement; besides
“ which, one hundred additional horse
“ on the same footing shall be placed
“ at your disposal; making in all,
“ three hundred and fifty horse.

“ Agreed.

“ Article IX. Twenty-five thousand
“ rupees worth of goods will be sent
“ to you annually, if demanded, from
“ the next year.

“ Agreed.”

“ Memorandum, in the hand-writing of HARI PANT FURKIA :

“ Anandivalli, 6th of October 1767.

“ The bankers of Poona having agreed to pay to DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA)
“ the sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees, this amount is to be recovered by
“ them out of the following payments due, *viz.*

“ Holkar	Rupees 9,25,000
“ Sindia	10,00,000
“ Bhosla	3,00,000
“ U'deypúr Rana	2,00,000
“ Apají Ganésa	3,00,000
“ Basalat Jeng	2,50,000

“ Rupees 29,75,000

“ The above sums are to be allotted exclusively for repayment to the
“ bankers.”

Affairs had thus been brought to a crisis which left MADHU RAO the uncontrolled ruler of his dominions ; and though it reduced the power of RAGOBA, it left him with a princely income, and with a small principality apparently well suited to his station in the kingdom. MADHU RAO, however, had all along foreseen that his uncle would not be satisfied with his condition ; and we accordingly find him, in a very few months after, actively engaging in political intrigues with BHOSLA, the Raja of Nagpore ; and the hopes he obtained from that quarter induced him to break into open insurrection. Besides fifteen thousand men raised for the occasion, DAMAJÍ, the Gaikwar, lent him his aid ; and GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, the ex-minister of HOLKAR, was his principal coadjutor. MADHU RAO lost not a moment in marching to oppose his uncle, whose troops were defeated in a battle fought under the fort of Dhurap, forty miles north of Nasuc. On this occasion RAGOBA, mounted on an elephant, was taken prisoner, and brought, escorted by a party of horse, to the Peshwa. The young hero, instead of upbraiding him, or triumphing over his misfortunes, brought his own elephant alongside that of his uncle, and courteously handed him into his own seat, in which way the uncle and nephew rode conversing together into camp, so that the spectators actually believed a reconciliation had been effected. This was, however, impossible ; MADHU RAO perceiving the necessity for limiting his uncle's power more effectually, and took measures accordingly.

GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, HOLKAR's ex-minister, had by his conduct forfeited the protection secured to him and others by the treaty of Anandivalli, concluded with RAGOBA the year before; and we therefore find the following bond in the hand-writing of GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, dated the 13th of July 1768.

“ I agree to pay, through the agency of GOPAL RAO GOVIND, the sum of twenty-nine lacs and fifty thousand rupees (£295,000), as a fine to the government. Meanwhile, till the full payment is completed, I am not to be liable for any pecuniary negotiations which I may be obliged to enter into in order to realize this amount.

“ After paying the whole sum, if a balance of a lac or a lac and a-half of rupees (£10,000 or £15,000) should remain in my hands or in those of my son, the government is to allow us to retain it for the support of our family. In case, however, any larger sum should subsequently be discovered, either in our hands or in those of any banker or other person whatsoever between Rameswur and Benares, or between Ahmedabad and Attock, belonging to me, the government is at liberty freely to seize it.”

On the arrival of the Peshwa and his uncle at Poona, the following arrangements appear to have been made, according to a memorandum existing in MADHU RAO's hand-writing.

“ 26th of June 1768.

“ I. The forts and estates lately in possession of my uncle RAGOBA, are to be managed in future by officers of our own government and of our own nomination. Out of consideration to my uncle, however, orders shall be sent in his name, and the reports shall be addressed to him.

“ II. The expenditure of the ten lacs of revenue for my uncle's use are to be submitted to us, but all balances in his favour are to be credited to my uncle, whose expenditure must not exceed that sum.

“ III. My uncle is to remain in Poona, and not to quit it without our knowledge. If he wishes to visit the temples on the banks of the several sacred rivers, he shall be allowed to do so while we remain in Poona, and a proper escort will attend him, but in our absence he must not quit the capital.

“ IV. The persons at present in my uncle's service are not to be molested; but no one can be permitted to remain in it without our sanction.”

The army proceeding against the Raja of Berar left Poona, probably in the latter end of 1768 or early in 1769; and the following letter from MORABA, cousin of NANA FARNEVIS, who accompanied the Peshwa, written by his orders, shews the state of affairs when the campaign was nearly brought to a close.

“ Camp, Umerkehr, 2d of April 1769.

“ I have received your letter of the 17th March. The news here is this :
 “ The Peshwa left Poona with the intention of proceeding to the Carnatic,
 “ and of availing himself of the circumstances which might arise out of
 “ the war between HYDER and the English. The army accordingly reached
 “ Serapur, when BHOSLA wrote to say he had with him an army of 20,000
 “ men; that he had been ordered to attend the Peshwa, and to bring with
 “ him a small retinue; but that his army was in want of pay, and would not
 “ permit him to quit. He observed, therefore, that he could not separate
 “ himself from his army, but that he should send his minister DÉWÁKAR PANT
 “ to head-quarters. His Highness the Peshwa, by calling on JAVAJÍ BHOSLA,
 “ wished to try his fidelity, of which he had great doubts; and this conduct
 “ confirmed his suspicions. Besides, his Highness RAGOBA being at Poona,
 “ he thought it imprudent to leave his dominions open to intrigues during his
 “ absence in another direction. Moreover, he has no confidence in a third
 “ person (SAKERAM BAPU, one of the most able, but most intriguing
 “ politicians then in India). He accordingly resolved to march towards
 “ BHOSLA, and compel his attendance. For this purpose he marched,
 “ attended by a division of the Nizam's army, under RÚKN-UD-DOULA, as
 “ far as Dharur. Here we were met by BHOSLA's representative, DÉWÁKAR
 “ PANT, who made fair promises in the name of his master; but it was
 “ thought advisable to move towards his army, which retired as we advanced.
 “ On reaching Berar, the country was laid waste with fire and sword, while
 “ BHOSLA continued flying before our troops. A light detachment was
 “ accordingly formed (consisting of twelve thousand men, under GOPAL
 “ RAO of Mirch), which went in pursuit for upwards of a month without
 “ overtaking the enemy; and BHOSLA eventually fled into the forests (the
 “ woods of *Gondwana*): our cavalry, both men and horses, were fairly
 “ worn out. It was once intended to besiege Chanda, but his Highness
 “ had not the proper means nor sufficient men, so that it was at length
 “ resolved to leave RAMCHANDRA GANÉS and RÚKN-UD-DOULA in Berar,
 “ and that his Highness should return. The Nizam's troops, little prepared

“ for the privations and hardships they had already endured, and unwilling
“ to incur more, became discontented, and positively refused to remain. In
“ this state of affairs DÉWÁKAR PANT (BHOSLA’s minister), who had been all
“ along in camp, remonstrated against leaving any troops at all. He
“ stated, that to form a cantonment in Berar fit to contain such an army
“ as RAMCHANDRA GANÉS must necessarily have with him, would incur an
“ expense of at least twenty lacs of rupees, which could never be repaid
“ by BHOSLA. He entreated therefore for his master, that his Highness
“ the Peshwa would be satisfied with having ravaged the country, and
“ expelled BHOSLA from it, and begged that the Peshwa would now
“ accept his contrition. His Highness, on mature consideration, was
“ induced to accede to the reasoning of DÉWÁKAR PANT, and consented to
“ permit him to quit the camp and bring BHOSLA to head-quarters, on con-
“ dition of his giving up twelve lacs of his old jagír and three lacs of his new
“ jagír, and of his paying five lacs in specie; the cessions and specie to
“ be shared equally by the allies.

“ After BHOSLA arrives, visits will be interchanged for two or three
“ days, when we shall return, as well as RAMCHANDRA GANÉS’s division.
“ The Nizam’s troops are also to go home.

“ DÉWÁKAR PANT is to accompany this army. You shall know more
“ when we meet.”

The army reached Poona at the end of May, and the aspect of affairs in the south rendered it necessary for the Peshwa to direct his attention to that quarter: among other measures of precaution, was that of removing the Carnatic infantry from the garrisons in that quarter of the country, and replacing them by Mahrattas whom he could trust. The Peshwa writes thus to his brother NARAYAN RAO, then quite a youth :

“ 5th of July 1769.

“ I request that all the Carnatic infantry in the garrisons of the southern
“ frontier may be relieved in Chinroydrug, Mudgirry, &c. &c., and their
“ place supplied by Mahratta infantry.”

But the Peshwa’s first object was to prevent his uncle being mischievous during his absence; and the circumstantial proofs of his designs, up to the very last moment of the war with BHOSLA, were so complete, that he felt himself justified in imposing new and more rigid terms on him for the future.

The incorrigible habits of RAGOBA seemed to promise no hopes of amendment, and we are almost surprised that any terms were again offered to him ; but respect for his father's brother, and perhaps even for public opinion, prevented MADHU RAO from proceeding to the extremity of making RAGOBA a prisoner in a hill-fort. He was permitted to reside within the town of Poona, and to take exercise within its limits ; but it became necessary to restrict his excursions, and to deprive him of the power of foreign communication. To attain these ends, the draft of certain terms was made by MADHU RAO, which exists in his own hand-writing ; and the actual conditions framed by NANA FARNEVIS, and acceded to by RAGOBA, are written in the hands of that minister and the state prisoner. They are as follow :

“ Terms concluded with RAGOBA DADA at Poona.

In NANA FARNEVIS' hand.

In RAGOBA DADA's hand.

“ I. To abstain from all political
“ intrigues.

“ II. To abstain from writing orders
“ or letters.

“ III. Not to ask to quit the city.

“ IV. Not to bring forward new
“ proposals.

“ V. In case it be found necessary,
“ on account of disturbance or other
“ danger,—to retire, without delay, to
“ such place as may be pointed out.

“ I. I agree to do so.

“ II. I agree to abstain from doing
“ so clandestinely. If I write letters,
“ they shall be open to inspection.

“ III. I agree not to be importunate
“ on this point.

“ IV. It may be necessary for me
“ to mention trifling points, but it
“ will remain with you to accede
“ to them or not. If it does not
“ seem fit to do so, you need not ;
“ on which occasions I promise to
“ assent to the decision without op-
“ position. Abide only by your own
“ engagements, and do not depart
“ from them.

“ V. Under such circumstances,
“ relying upon you, I shall go ; but I
“ am only to be sent away on occasions
“ of great necessity, and am to be
“ quickly brought back. You are not
“ to take advantage of this clause to

“ VI. Not to starve yourself.

“ VII. Not to curse us ; or to employ Brahmins to do so ; or use incantations.

“ destroy my confidence in you. On such occasions I shall go without opposition, putting my trust in God.

“ VI. If you abide by your engagements, I promise not to starve out of spite.*

“ VII. I promise not to pray to God to curse you, for I shall pray for your prosperity. If you suspect me of doing the former, I am without remedy ; but neither will I do so intentionally, nor employ any Brahmin to do so. If it should be done without my knowledge, I am not to be responsible.† All will reap the fruit of their own labour : I certainly will employ no one to curse or to hurt another, excepting he be the enemy of God, and it is to such only I wish evil.

“ In case I am ever suspected of such conduct, let the circumstances be fully investigated, and the guilty be punished accordingly.

“ To this I agree.”

The following postscript is in RAGOBA's hand-writing :

“ I have agreed to abide by the conditions of the above seven articles, but

* This remarkable proposition requires some explanation. The most heinous crime of which a Hindu can be guilty is to cause the death of a Brahmin, and the crime would be considerably aggravated by that person being so near a relative as RAGOBA was to MADHU RAO. The imposition therefore of terms which should drive him to the desperate resolve of starvation, of which the natives of India are frequently capable, would, by implication, bring the guilt of his uncle's murder on the nephew's head ; and this article was therefore introduced to prevent its occurrence.

† My Indian friends, who assisted me in examining this collection of papers, and who were about the court at the time, say this passage was considered to allude to ANANDI BHYE, the wife of RAGOBA, who was notorious for employing magicians and enchanterers against MADHU RAO.

“ after you have confidence in me from my behaviour *in the course of two*
 “ *or three years,** I am to be more at liberty, and to be allowed to go about
 “ if I choose. I am not to be unnecessarily restrained. I promise to abstain
 “ from all political intrigues; but in case I should be falsely accused on this
 “ head, let the facts be investigated fairly. Do not act on loose assertions.

“ 6th of August 1769.

“ P.S. The time of restraint is not to be fixed for two or three years.
 “ Let the restrictions be taken off whenever my conduct has removed all
 “ suspicion.

“ Let the time not be fixed.”

Having secured himself, as far as appeared necessary to him, against his uncle's intrigues, MADHU RAO turned his thoughts to the civil administration of his country, for which he had hitherto had no leisure. The picture exhibited by Captain Grant Duff in his history of the Mahrattas, of the exertions of this young prince and his able coadjutor RAM SASTRI, to reform the judicial system, and of his finance ministers to improve that of his revenue, is as creditable to them as it is pleasing for us to reflect upon.

Of the able judge RAM SASTRI, he observes: “ The prince's endeavours
 “ were aided by the celebrated RAM SASTRI, a name which stands alone on
 “ Mahratta records as an upright and pure judge, and whose character,
 “ admirable under any circumstances, is wonderful amidst such selfish-
 “ ness, venality, and corruption, as are almost universal in a Mahratta
 “ court.”

MADHU RAO became the pupil of this excellent man, and was at one time so abstracted in theological studies as to alarm his faithful preceptor, who in a manner sufficiently indicative of his disapprobation, begged to be allowed to retire from office to Benares, in case his pupil the prince of the realm, neglected his duties to his subjects and the state by following the practices of a priest. MADHU RAO acknowledged the justness of the rebuke, and gave up that deep application to study to which he was becoming inclined.

In the finance department he had discovered many abuses, which he was gradually correcting when he received intimation that HYDER had made

* The words in italics have a pen run through them in the original, and this fact shews how RAGOBHAI's mind vacillated on the point of any stated time for the restrictions.

peace with the English, and not only refused to pay the tribute due, but had even levied contributions on some of the chiefs tributary to the Peshwa.

A large body of cavalry was therefore pushed forward to the frontier, and in the month of November 1769 MADHU RAO left Poona, at the head of fifteen thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry.

The progress of his arms is best shewn by his own letter to NANA FARNEVIS, received at Poona the 30th of January 1770.

“ On crossing the Tungbudra, the main army was joined by the troops
“ of DOULUT RAO GHORIPORÍ, NARSING RAO, and ANAND RAO GOPAL;
“ when leaving ANAND RAO RASTIA and GOPAL RAO of Mirch, to oppose
“ HYDER in the district of Savanore, I proceeded towards Seringapatam,
“ avoiding the districts of Harpunhullí and Chittledrug. The first places
“ occupied, on the 14th January, were Budhyal, Kimpkerri, Humpkerri,
“ and Chiknalhullí. There are three or four other places which must soon
“ fall. Small forts cannot stand our artillery, but those I allude to are not
“ to be taken without heavier guns, Country yielding a lac or a lac and
“ a-quarter of *huns* (£65,000) annually, has been recovered. The chief
“ of Chittledrug has joined me with five thousand infantry, a thousand
“ cavalry, three or four guns, five camel loads of rockets, and eight
“ elephants; and, moreover, promises to fight. A communication has been
“ made from MUHAMMED ALI KHAN (Nabob of Arcot), that he also will
“ afford us aid. BALARAM conveyed this intelligence. The Nabob has been
“ desired to send some respectable persons of his own, with proper
“ credentials and powers to negotiate.

“ HYDER NAIC was in the Bednore forest on the 7th January, having
“ sent his son (TIPPU) towards Bangalore. This season HYDER's field
“ equipments are tolerably good.”

MADHU RAO to NARO BABJÍ, manager of Dharūr.

“ 6th of March 1770.

“ Two or three letters have been written to you to enlist a thousand
“ infantry, and to send them on to the camp, to occupy the places as they are
“ taken. You write that men cannot be had for the purpose in your district,
“ but that you will endeavour to raise them in Sawuntwarri. The head-
“ quarters now are in the vicinity of Nandíghur (Nundidrug), and men
“ are required to form garrisons for the newly conquered places. You
“ must contrive to procure the men and to send them to us. I trust those

“ you expect from Sawuntwarri have arrived ere this ; send them on to Sera
 “ as they come in.”

In the hand-writing of HARI PANT FARKIA, to the same.

“ 9th of March 1770.

“ Send on the new levies as soon as possible. You may go as far as nine
 “ rupees monthly pay to each man. They should for the most part have
 “ fire-arms, though a few *Pat'hákarís* (men using the double-edged broad-
 “ sword) may also be enlisted, but not too many of them.”

The health of the Peshwa declining about this time, he returned to Poona, from whence he writes a short letter to the same person on a military subject. It is as follows :

“ Poona, 15th of September 1770.

“ You may attack Durkunhullí, if you think you have the means of doing
 “ so with effect, but on no account run the risk of failure ; on the contrary,
 “ wait till I reach the place with the army which will march from hence.”

On the Peshwa quitting the army in the field, it was left under the command of his first master in the military art, his maternal uncle TRYAMBAK RAO MARNA. After the rainy season was over in Poona, MADHU RAO took the field again to join the army.

This movement must have taken place early in November, for in that month he wrote the following confidential letter. It is not difficult to suppose that the inuendoes contained in it have reference principally to his uncle and his party, though the language is by no means so plain as to give much insight into the real objects of the communication.

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 22d of November 1770.

“ In consequence of my not having been able to see you before I marched,
 “ you were obliged to entrust what you had to say to HARI PANT. It does
 “ not in the least signify ; I know your disposition towards me, and I feel
 “ assured that you will act for me in my absence with the utmost zeal and
 “ fidelity. Professions on your part are quite unnecessary to convince me
 “ of this. You recollect there were three or four points we discussed, four
 “ or five days since, which were not to be made known to others, and
 “ which you will of course not mention. You spoke out to me on that
 “ occasion without reserve, and I replied with the same degree of con-
 “ fidence, but it must go no farther. I repeat it, this must never be spoken

“ of. Conceal nothing from me in my absence of what you may learn.
“ Write to me with confidence. Speak out boldly. Conceal nothing I
“ entreat you ; what I write to you, I shall do with perfect reliance that it
“ will not be spoken of to any one. Maintain the same good faith you have
“ ever done. I have never been so plain with any one before ; your business
“ is not now confined to one point ; I shall rely on you, not only for infor-
“ mation, but also for advice on all subjects. I feel convinced you will
“ advise what is right. A hint from you will suffice to enable me to act,
“ as I am assured you will recommend nothing but what is proper.

“ I shall frequently apply to you on points that I could not venture to
“ trust to any other person ; and as I find my confidence is repaid, so shall I
“ apply to you without hesitation. We are bound to each other by the
“ most solemn oaths to reveal nothing of what passes between us.

“ With regard to the questions I have left for you to consider, when I
“ hear your opinion I shall avail myself of any hints you may give, and issue
“ the necessary instructions.

“ Destroy this letter the instant you have read it.”

This letter is written evidently in great agitation ; several words are left out, the usual lines connecting the words are omitted, and the same sentiment is frequently repeated ; and it is altogether unlike MADHU RAO's usually clear style.

The Peshwa's health declining daily, he made but little progress towards the south ; and in the month of June 1771 he vested his maternal uncle TRYAMBAC RAO with full powers as commander-in-chief, and sent him the great seal, making him in every respect his representative in the field. TRYAMBAC RAO so completely fulfilled his sovereign's wishes that he reduced HYDER to the greatest distress, and at the very gates of Seringapatam dictated a peace in the following year, by which he obtained thirty-six lacs of rupees as arrears of tribute, and an agreement to pay fourteen lacs annually in future.

Our attention must now be drawn towards the affairs at Poona. MADHU RAO's indisposition prevented his attending to business ; and some of the ministers began to look towards RAGOBA as the person into whose hands the government might again fall in case of the Peshwa's death and the accession of his younger brother NARAYAN RAO, a youth equally irritable and wrong-headed. This state of affairs added to the anxiety of the Peshwa's mind and increased his disorder, which proved to be consumption.

The letters, which passed at this period, are full of interest, but they are in many instances ambiguous, and some of them being without date, it is not easy to place them in the series. The physicians conceiving the air of Poona unwholesome for his complaint, the Peshwa moved to Sidtek, a village a few miles from the capital, which he reached in January 1772. NANA was left, as usual, in charge of Poona, under the Peshwa's brother, NARAYAN RAO, while NANA's cousin, who was jealous of the confidence reposed in him by the Peshwa, filled the office of secretary with MADHU RAO, around whom, during his illness, all the great chiefs of the empire assembled, both out of courtesy, as well as to observe what was likely to be the result in case of his death.

Shortly after the Peshwa left Poona, NANA FARNEVÍS found the young prince, NARAYAN RAO, lending himself to a party, and permitting them to assume a degree of interference in the public business, to which NANA was by no means disposed to submit. The following letters on this subject shew his feeling :

NANA FARNEVÍS to MADHU RAO Peshwa.

“ Your Highness on your departure said, ‘ His Highness NARAYAN RAO
 “ ‘ will remain here in my absence ; do not imagine therefore there will be
 “ ‘ any difficulty.’ This is true : but there is a vast deal of business to be
 “ transacted, and where confidence exists there are no obstacles. This
 “ does not appear to be the case here. The reproofs, the opposition, and
 “ the delays which occur, do not originate with his Highness perhaps ; but
 “ why should I have been selected to become subject to them ? If your
 “ Highness should be absent for many months, business cannot be allowed
 “ to stand still ; but I beg of you to consider how I am to conduct it
 “ without your support.

“ I am extremely unwilling, in the present state of your health, to trouble
 “ you on such matters, but I could not on this occasion avoid it. All
 “ I wish is, that when I bring papers to receive the young prince's
 “ signature, they may be passed at once, without the intervention of
 “ other people. In case his Highness should wish for explanation, I am on
 “ the spot, and always ready to afford it. If your Highness does not
 “ feel sufficient confidence in me to admit of this, I beg I may be allowed
 “ to join your camp at once. Every thing else goes on smoothly.

“ This is what I begged of HARÍ PANT to mention, but I am not sure

“ that he has done so. Your Highness knows more of the state of the
“ case than I have mentioned. If you are resolved matters should go on
“ as at present, command me to that effect.”

Reply in MADHU RAO's hand, on the face of the letter.

“ I will communicate to you through HARÍ PANT this evening: if I were
“ to sit down to reply, I should be obliged to write a long letter, which I
“ could not do. I shall send a message therefore by HARÍ PANT.”

HARÍ PANT to NANA on the same subject.

“ I have received your letter, begging of me to state what I told his
“ Highness NARAYAN RAO, on the occasion of your being left at Poona,
“ and to mention if I had been at all equivocal in my communication with
“ him. You observe also, that you are prepared to quit Poona and
“ come to the camp. In reply to which I beg to assure you, that
“ I mentioned all you wished to his Highness MADHU RAO, and was
“ directed in consequence to wait on his Highness NARAYAN RAO, and
“ to tell him, as follows: ‘ NANA is left here to conduct the civil
“ ‘ duties of the districts; he will also write the *mukhalasí* (the con-
“ ‘ cluding line and date of all public documents), and having explained
“ ‘ their contents to you, will obtain from you the final signature of *diarí*
“ ‘ (let it be fulfilled), without reference to DADA (RAGOBÁ DADA is
“ ‘ probably meant). In case you have any difficulty in comprehending
“ ‘ the papers, send for NANA to explain.’ This is what I was directed to
“ inform his Highness NARAYAN RAO, which I did. What is it possible to
“ do more? I do not see what more can be done. If any thing else occurs
“ to you, let me know, and I will represent it; but I cannot perceive what
“ you can wish for more. Still I am prepared to do any thing you desire.”

MORABA to his cousin NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ Sidtek, 6th of January 1772.

“ His Highness MADHU RAO's health is so much worse, that he has
“ consented to allow the *Padre* to see him.”

This was probably some Portuguese priest, who understood something of medicine.

From the same to the same.

“ 17th of January 1772.

“ His Highness is alarmingly ill. He is better for a few days, and then

“ relapses again into his former state. It is really very difficult to say what
 “ may happen, and how soon. He does not gain strength at all.”

This information gave great hopes to RAGOBA, who had already ingratiated himself with his nephew NARAYAN RAO, the ostensible governor of Poona. SUKARAM BAPU, already mentioned as an able ex-minister, and described as rather disposed towards RAGOBA, formed a cabal with him to vex NANA FARNEVIS, who now left Poona, and went to his master at Sidtek. We are not acquainted with what passed at this meeting, but the following familiar correspondence shews the nature of the feelings which existed between them at the time.

Letter from NANA to MADHU RAO, without date.

“ My cousin MORABA acquainted me that he obtained permission for me
 “ to proceed to-morrow. But I was sorry to perceive, when we parted,
 “ that you were out of spirits, and apparently not in good-humour. It
 “ has occurred to me since, that you have only yielded to my wish to be
 “ allowed to go ; or am I to refer your behaviour to the fact of your being
 “ worse? If I have your free permission I will go ; if not I will stay in
 “ camp, though my health requires some relaxation from business, and
 “ change of air. I shall however conform entirely to your wishes. All the
 “ current business is done with the exception of that of Dharwar. There
 “ are some important points, however, which can only be done at Poona,
 “ where the records are. With regard to the Gaikwar question, when we
 “ are both equally well-informed, there will be no difficulty. NARO APPAJÍ
 “ has charge of the current business of Poona, which your Highness can,
 “ if you choose, leave altogether in his hands. If any thing extraordinary
 “ should occur, I shall be always ready to undertake it if such is your wish.
 “ If not, I shall not interfere. I am anxious to proceed to Menoley * before
 “ I return to Poona, which will cause a delay of some days ; but on this
 “ point I shall be guided by your wishes.”

Reply from MADHU RAO, in his own hand.

“ I was really very unwell : it was nothing else. When MORABA asked
 “ leave for you to return, I said, ‘ Let him wait a few days, and then let
 “ ‘ him go, unless his business is very urgent, in which case he may go at

* A village near Waí, where NANA's personal estate is situated, and on which his widow still resides.

“ ‘once.’ I shall communicate to you in detail through GURUJÍ (the private preceptor and priest) and MORABA. At present the Gaikwar affair is the only business of consequence; it is nearly concluded, but it cannot be brought to a close without MORABA and yourself consulting and making the final arrangements. The other matters are unimportant.”

RAGOBA DADA became now very importunate to see his nephew MADHU RAO, who writes to NANA, on the 20th of February 1772, thus:

“ I entreat you to prevent my uncle RAGOBA quitting Poona under the plea of coming to visit me. In the first place he must again swear to conform to the seven articles last drawn up and acceded to by him, and by these he must abide.

“ I enclose the form of an oath in the hand-writing of HARÍ PANT FARKIA; which I require you to administer to him.”

Memorandum in the hand-writing of NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 23d of February 1772.

“ His Highness DADA SAHIB objects to the expression (*nehurí*) ‘permanent’ in the oath. He observes, ‘I will abide by the agreement as long as the terms are kept by the other party, and will on no account infringe it.’ He conceives permanency to be implied in that. He has no objection to swear to every other part.”

MORABA FARNEVÍS to his cousin NANA.

“ 23d of February 1772.

“ Your letter has been received, stating that you had been sent for by DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA); that he had ordered his preparations for moving, but that the lady (ANUNDÍ BHYE, RAGOBA’S wife) had scolded well, so that RAMCHUNDER PANT and the other ministers were confounded. Who is to be afraid of her tongue? What can she do? It has not disturbed us here at all. I have represented all you wrote on the subject. His Highness the Peshwa asked me if I could be certain that his uncle would take the oath required of him. How could I say so? I wrote to you, and from your answer I perceived we should have a long correspondence if the business were negociated by letter, so it is resolved to send CRISHNA RAO. BHOSLA has reached Pyetun, and has from two thousand to two thousand five hundred men with him. He is to arrive on the 12th *Mag-wud* (2d March); BHAWANÍ PANT and RAMAJÍ PANT have already come.

“ MUDHAJÍ BHOSLA has seen TAHAVUR JENG, and has settled the *ghass-dana* (tribute).

“ RUMBAJÍ (RAO RUMBA) has gone since I came here.

“ His Highness the Peshwa has been worse during the last three days. He has been frequently delirious. He is sometimes better, sometimes worse. No one knows how to treat his case ; HUKÍMJÍ (a Muhammedan physician) has therefore been sent for. He is reputed clever as a physician and a chemist. His Highness intends moving to Tewur on the 25th February. We shall see whether he will or not.”

MADHU RAO to NANA ; written by HARÍ PANT FARKIA.

“ 15th of March 1772.

“ You write that my uncle sent for you, and said that Saturday was a good day for coming here ; that he gave orders to have his equipage ready ; that he wants the horse-carriage (an English coach) to be sent for him ; that as CRISHNA RAO was gone, he had fixed on Saturday or Sunday, and that you would move with him or not, according to the reply from hence : that if he did come on that day he was desirous I should go and stay a few days at Poona, after which he would like to go to the Godaveri ; also that if the day fixed was not agreeable to me, he had no objection to the 28th of March, thirteen days hence.

“ Saturday is the day fixed on for BHOSLA's taking leave ; so that day is disposed of. The following day is lucky for both—before eight o'clock in the morning for me, and till sunset for him ; but as it is not so for me, it will be better we should meet before eight in the morning. If he accedes to this arrangement, let me know, and you can come with him at once.

“ The horse-carriage is sent, according to his wishes ; also an elephant and *ambarrí* (the latter is a seat with a royal canopy over it), besides two of my own riding horses. Tell him so. Let me have an answer before noon to-morrow. If he reaches Kowrí before eight o'clock on Sunday, it will do. If he is later we shall miss the time. You will of course take care that a suitable escort, both of cavalry and infantry, attends him. In case he should object to this arrangement, the meeting may be put off till the 28th March.”

MORABA FARNEVÍS to his cousin NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 16th of March 1772.

“ You write, that in consequence of urgent affairs, you shall not be able
“ to accompany DADA SAHIB, and beg to be excused. I am instructed to
“ say you are permitted to remain. NARO PANT and JENARDHUN RAM are
“ to accompany him. Make proper arrangements, though you do not come
“ yourself.”

From the same to the same.

“ 29th of March 1772.

“ His Highness has been very ill for the last few days, so that no business
“ could be done on Sunday with DADA SAHIB (his uncle). They are to
“ meet on Friday. His Highness is, I think, worse to-day, and is extremely
“ weak. He has been prevailed on to be weighed.* BHOSLA marched this
“ day. He goes first to Jejuri, and then returns home. He is now at
“ Balapur. On his taking leave, three guns, besides elephants and horses,
“ were presented to him.

“ When you have leisure, come over here.”

During the rainy season between June and September, the Peshwa's health improved. As no later letters, however, have been found by me than the last which has been recorded, we are left in doubt as to the turn affairs took after the meeting of the uncle and nephew. The Mahratta historian, Grant Duff, observes:† “ As the health of his nephew declined, RAGHUNAT'H RAO (RAGOBA) began intrigues with HYDER ALI and the
“ Nizam, in order to obtain complete enlargement, and secure his succes-
“ sion as Peshwa. The correspondence was intercepted by the ministers,
“ and nineteen persons were sent into hill-forts; and the confinement of
“ his uncle would have become more rigid than ever, but MADHU RAO
“ perceiving his death was certain, interposed, and observed it was natural
“ for his uncle to desire his liberty.” He also states, that “ RAGHUNAT'H
“ Rao was sent for to Tewur; that a reconciliation took place, and
“ MADHU RAO, in presence of SAKARAM BAPU (whom he had reinstated
“ in the office of minister), recommended his brother NARAYAN RAO, the

* In order to propitiate the gods, great men are weighed against gold, and the amount is distributed in charity.

† Vol. ii. page 241.

“ heir presumptive, in an impressive manner, to the care and protection of
 “ his uncle.”

The papers in my possession do not enable me either to contradict or confirm this opinion, which, considering the extreme caution of the author in stating nothing but on good authority, is likely enough to be true.

Among those persons who were suspected of favouring RAGOBA in his intrigues was NANA FARNEVIS's cousin MORABA, and it appears evident from the letters in MORABA's hand that the former accused him of betraying the interests of his master the Peshwa. Early in the year MORABA had explained to his cousin, in the following letter, for the first time, a feeling of animosity, which had long subsisted between him and the Peshwa's private secretary HARÍ PANT FARKIA, and it seems from what ensued that he was the person who communicated his suspicion of MORABA's intrigues with RAGOBA DADA.

MORABA FARNEVIS to his cousin NANA.

“ 26th of January 1772.

“ I have received your letter regarding HARÍ PANT FARKIA. The truth
 “ is, he and I have been on bad terms for the last three years; it is not a
 “ misunderstanding of a single day, and it was owing to the want of
 “ cordiality that has so long existed between you and I, that I have not
 “ opened my mind to you before on this subject; but as I do not wish to
 “ conceal it any longer, I now write to you plainly. Notwithstanding our
 “ private feelings to each other, neither HARÍ PANT nor I have allowed
 “ them to break out or to interrupt public business; but as he has now
 “ chosen to bring the circumstance forward, I candidly tell you that I ask
 “ no other umpire of our disputes than yourself, and in consequence of
 “ your letter I have sent NARO PANT, who will explain how matters stand
 “ between us. There is one point, however, I beg of you to dismiss from
 “ your mind, which is, a notion that my quarrel with HARÍ PANT originated
 “ in his being a *protégé* of yours. I call on the manes of my father and
 “ mother to witness that I have never allowed this circumstance to influence
 “ me for a moment. That we are not on good terms is quite true. For
 “ this there are many causes, some of which I could mention, others I
 “ must decline. Those concerning which I feel myself at liberty to speak,
 “ I will communicate when we meet. If you suppose, however, that HARÍ
 “ PANT and I can ever act cordially together, I tell you once for all, it
 “ is impossible. This I can safely say on oath. But again I declare I have

“ never allowed my private feelings to evince themselves in my manners or
“ conduct towards him, nor will I ever do so. NARO PANT will explain
“ every thing you wish.”

The two following letters are without date, but they evidently refer to his intrigues with RAGOBA about this period.

MORABA to his cousin NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ Your letter has been received. It is positively true then that I am in
“ the habit of communicating with RAGOBA DADA, and that at such a time
“ as the present, his Highness believes it! During the whole period of my
“ administration, I saw DADA only five or six times, on which occasions
“ CRISHNA RAO was almost always present. If I have ever seen or com-
“ municated with him since then, I am certainly guilty. If DADA has
“ infringed the oath he took, and I have been accessory to it, let me be
“ punished in any way his Highness pleases; or else let me go on some
“ pilgrimage, when, if you please, you may send fifty or a hundred soldiers
“ to look after me. RAGOBA DADA has been my enemy since my birth.
“ His minister, moreover, is my enemy. If his Highness the Peshwa
“ reflects a little on these facts, he will himself discover how he has been
“ deceived. Such, however, is the temper of the times. This was the
“ only thing they could find against me. It is of no use to serve a master
“ when all confidence is lost; so I beg of you to tell his Highness plainly,
“ that he must assure me that his suspicions are removed before I
“ return. If not, let him place a guard over me, and send me to live
“ somewhere in retirement on the banks of the Godaveri. Either send me
“ word to go at once, or let me be sent for to the presence, and I will
“ come immediately.”

From the same to the same.

“ The message communicated through HARÍ PANT, you no doubt conceive
“ to be highly proper. Send one like it again, if you choose. Reflect, however,
“ before you act. Consider the person and the proofs, and do not act on
“ the word of any low fellow. But so it is. If I were suspected, you
“ might have sent for, and accused me to my face. You should at all events
“ have established something like proof before you acted, and then you
“ might have done what you chose. This would have been worthy of
“ the master you serve. Matters of this nature ought not to be done
“ hastily.”

From the same to the same.

“ If accusation is to stand in the stead of proof, without any enquiry, what can be done? Under his Highness such has not hitherto been the practice ; nor ought it to be so now. Some proof or evidence should surely be adduced. There ought to be some regard for common justice ; but in this instance there is none. Very well, be it so. If you choose to send for me, do so. I conclude HARÍ PANT has told you all, but I have had no reply from you.”

From the same to the same.

“ I formerly gave the long agreement with DADA SAHIB into the hands of APPAJÍ PANT, I now send the other agreement and another paper. It can be of no use for me to retain these documents, under existing circumstances. Let me know if any thing important has occurred lately.”

Although the Peshwa was, on the whole, better during the rainy season, he by no means thought he should recover ; but he availed himself of his temporary convalescence to cause his will to be drawn up by his faithful friend NANA FARNEVÍS, and it still exists in his hand-writing. The following is a copy.

“ Tewur, 30th of August 1772.

“ 1. It is my wish that the whole of the cash in deposit with MADHAJÍ PANT GURUJÍ * be applied to the liquidation of the principal of the public debt, and that the public money in hand be also applied to the same purpose.

“ 2. The inhabitants both of the Concan and the Désh (upland country) have suffered much on account of the revenues being farmed. I therefore desire that those persons who have sustained injury by this measure, may be indemnified, after a minute investigation of the abuses which have taken place, in order that justice may be done to my subjects.

“ 3. It was the wish of my revered father to obtain possession of Prayag (Allahabad) and Benares. I have always had the same desire. It is my will, therefore, that these places may now be obtained, either by exchange or otherwise, as may be expedient.

“ 4. I beg that my venerable mother, who wishes to go to Benares to reside, may be permitted to do so.

* This person was MADHU RAO's preceptor when he was a child ; he afterwards became his domestic priest ; and was his private treasurer. The money in his hands was, in fact, the privy purse, which he bequeaths to the state.

“ 5. The *Krīyá*, or funeral ceremonies of BHAO SAHIB (whose body was never found at Paniput) not having been performed, they should be fulfilled in the ensuing *Magh* (February). The widow, PÁRWATÍ BHYE, should be permitted to burn, if she chooses to do so.

“ 6. Let the annual charities at Benares be increased one-half, from this date.

“ 7. Let two hundred thousand Brahmins be fed at Benares on my account, and let each receive two pice (half-pence).

“ 8. Let a *jagír* of five lacs of rupees (£50,000) annual revenue be assigned to my uncle RAGOBA DADA, which may even be extended to seven lacs, if insisted on, but not more.

“ 9. Let the charities of *Sráwan-mas* (month of August), at the *Párbatí* (a temple near Poona), be always continued, even if the receipts of the government do not exceed five lacs of rupees (£50,000).

“ I swear by the holy GAN’APATÍ, that these are my wishes.” (This line is in his own hand.)

IN NANA’S hand :

“ I promise faithfully to fulfil, as far as is in my power, the wishes expressed in this document ; though it is possible we may require money for political purposes in the mean time. I swear, however, I will fulfil what has been written, as far as is practicable. The public debt must be paid out of the public coffers as far they go ; when, if a balance remains due, application will be made to GURUJÍ for the deposit in his hands.”

Another scrap of paper, in the hand-writing of HARI PANT FARKIA, drawn up probably by his master’s bed-side, is in existence, containing notes for the above, and stating that on no account is RAGOBA’S *jagír* to exceed seven lacs of rupees.

Two months and a-half after the date of MADHU RAO’S will, that amiable, and I may add, illustrious prince, died, on the 18th of November 1772, in the twenty-eighth year of his age and the twelfth of his reign.

According to the ordinances of the Hindu religion, his body was burned, and his fond wife, RAMA BHYE, to whom he was devotedly attached, ascended the funeral pile, evincing by her fortitude, in immolating herself with his body, a proof of the affection which she bore him. Her faith taught her to believe that this pious act would purge from sin the beloved object of her grief, and would ensure to them both an immediate and inseparable union in a future state.

It is, I think, impossible to read this interesting series of private documents, without confessing, that, in Europe, we are still but imperfectly acquainted with the natives of our eastern empire. Nay, I am of opinion, that until an European quits the British territory in India, where every Englishman looks on himself as a master, and on the people rather as his dependents than as his fellow subjects, it is extremely difficult for him to know much of their domestic habits, or private character.

The individuals who moved on the scene which has been exhibited in the letters I have translated, lived within our own time. Some of them even are now alive : and the facts, to which the correspondence alludes, are fresh in the minds of the present generation. It should be recollected also, that up to that period the court of Poona had had little or no intercourse with Europeans ; so that the letters afford a fair sample of the materials which compose an Indian court, when left to itself. In this point of view, I consider these papers as singularly valuable and instructive ; and, as historical records, very important.

I would appeal to those members of the Society, who have heard the whole of this correspondence read, whether it be the production of a barbarous or uncivilized race ? Whether the sentiments expressed in the letters, or the conduct of the individuals by whom they were written, exhibit a people deficient in talent, or different in any respect from what might be expected from persons considerably elevated in the scale of human society ?

It has been my lot to pass a great part of my life in familiar intercourse with the natives of the east, and principally among those who have for the most part lived beyond the precincts of our jurisdiction, and my notions of them are drawn from such sources. I have found the people, generally speaking, intelligent in a very high degree, though, from education, deficient in the knowledge of European history and sciences. They, however, are ready to admit their ignorance, and desirous of instruction. They are usually liberal in their opinions ; and the Hindus especially are tolerant on the subject of religion : for though tenacious of any interference in the exercise of their own, they oppose no worship or custom which does not affect themselves. Among their domestic virtues, I should class affection and tenderness to their relatives ; kindness to their domestics ; integrity in their dealings with each other ; hospitality to strangers ; and charity to the distressed and poor. Among the upper classes I have found refined notions of delicacy of conduct and manners ; and among statesmen and financiers, I

have occasionally met with enlarged views of policy, and a knowledge of the principles of statistics and political economy, that would not disgrace the ministers of any government.

I believe that at this moment, India contains natives who would do honour to any country: men who are capable of rendering themselves eminently useful to our government, not only by their intelligence and information, but by the weight which their influence would bring into our administration. They deserve to be more highly estimated, to be treated with more confidence, to be better rewarded, and to receive higher distinctions and consideration, than they usually meet with from us.

The eminent individual, who has just quitted the government of Bombay,* has endeavoured to promote the objects to which I have alluded; and I feel confident his successor will be disposed to tread in the same path; but, to have its full effect, the system must be general. If adopted, it seems to promise at no very distant period to bring about a revolution in the opinion of our Indian government among the natives, which it is of the utmost importance to effect. The more general employment of them in offices of trust will give respectability to the upper classes, which our present system is calculated to depress; it will elevate that branch of society which must always carry the body of the people along with it; it will give to it an interest in a government with which it will become identified; and, instead of exhibiting, as at present, a body of proud and broken-down families of rank, it will raise them to a respectable station in the community, which they will be unwilling to lose; and by giving them a greater degree of interest in the existence and welfare of the government, will strengthen it against internal commotion and foreign danger.

It would be presumptuous in me to expect that any sentiments of mine on such subjects should have much weight with the authorities with whom making these alterations must necessarily rest, even if I could venture to intrude them; but I look upon it as one of the most happy effects of our labours here, that by the diffusion of the knowledge of the state of society in the East, and of its institutions, a general acquaintance with these subjects will be spread throughout the public in England, and that the information brought home from India will, by being communicated through the pages of our Transactions, be a means of enlightening our countrymen, and of indirectly contributing to the happiness of many millions of the human race.

* The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone.